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STUDIES IN THE FAIRY MYTHOLOGY
OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE

STUDIES IN THE FAIRY MYTHOLOGY OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE

BY

LUCY ALLEN PATON, PH.D. (RADCLIFFE)

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*Second Edition; enlarged by a Survey of Scholarship on the Fairy
Mythology since 1903 and a Bibliography*
BY ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

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CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS,
December, 1902.

AN ADMONITION TO THE GENTLE READER

*Right well I wote . . .
That all this famous antique history
Of some th' aboundance of an ydle braine
Will iudged be, and painted forgery,
Rather than matter of iust memory;
Sith none that breatheth living aire does know
Where is that happy land of Faëry,
Which I so much doe vaunt, yet no where show;
But vouch antiquities, which no body can know.*

*But let that man with better sence advise
That of the world least part to us is red;
And daily how through hardy enterprise
Many great regions are discovered,
Which to late age were never mentioned.*

.
*Yet all these were, when no man did them know,
Yet have from wisest ages hidden beene;
And later times thinges more unknowne shall show.
Why then should witlesse man so much misweene,
That nothing is, but that which he hath seene?
What, if within the moones fayre shining spheare,
What, if in every other starre unseene
Of other worldes he happily should heare?
He wonder would much more; yet such to some appeare.*

*Of Faery lond yet if he more inquyre,
By certein signes, here sett in sondrie place,
He may it fynd.*

SPENSER, *Faerie Queene*, II, 1-4.

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STUDIES IN THE FAIRY MYTHOLOGY OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE

CHAPTER I

THE FAIRY QUEEN

THE fairy mythology of the middle ages is represented in its most important literary form by the lays and romances embodying the "matter of Britain" which were written in France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A Breton lay or an Arthurian romance consists essentially in the glorification of a single hero, and its incidents are strung, one after the other, upon the thread of his individual prowess. As a crowning tribute to his excellence, often as the prize that rewards his most difficult achievement, the love of a fay is bestowed upon him by the narrator of his exploits. For the purposes of romance the fay exists that she may set a seal upon the hero's valor and beauty by granting him her favor, or that she may afford an opportunity for him to display his courage by demanding of him an apparently impossible adventure. Hence, although the fay's place in the narrative is really secondary to the hero's, she is a highly important element in the structure of Arthurian romance, and we may scarcely wonder that it is in truth "fulfild of fayerye," nor that in it we have a treasure-house of fairy lore. The romances, however, are by no means a final source for information in regard to the other world and its inhabitants. To discover the fay in her true nature we must follow her to her home in Ireland and Wales, where among the earlier traditions of the Celtic people she stands nearer simple myth than in many of the twelfth-century lays and romances of France.

There is no lack of Celtic sources to furnish us with a clear conception of the Celtic fairy queen. In Irish literature the earliest extant narrative in which we meet her is the *Imram*

Brain maic Febail (*The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal*), which there is reason to believe embodies oral tradition first written down in the seventh century, although our manuscripts are probably derived from an original that does not antedate the tenth century.¹

One day when Bran chanced to be alone near his stronghold, he heard sweet music behind him, and however often he looked back, the music was ever behind him; at last, such was its sweetness that he fell asleep. When he awoke he saw close by him a branch of silver covered with white blossoms, which he carried with him to his dwelling. As he sat there with his hosts, a woman in strange raiment appeared before them, and began to sing to Bran of Emain, a distant island peopled by women, rich in flowers and birds, joy, music, and feasting, a land that knew nothing rough nor harsh, neither death nor decay.

“‘ Not to all of you is my speech,
 Though its great marvel has been made known :
 Let Bran hear from the crowd of the world
 What of wisdom has been told to him.

 Begin a voyage across the clear sea,
 If perchance thou mayst reach the land of women.’

“ Thereupon the woman went from them, while they knew not whither she went. And she took her branch with her. The branch sprang from Bran’s hand into the hand of the woman, nor was there strength in Bran’s hand to hold the branch.” (§§ 29–31.)

The next day Bran obeyed the woman’s summons and with a band of comrades began his mysterious voyage. As they neared the Land of Women, they saw the leader of the women at the port, and heard her voice calling them to shore and bidding them welcome. “ The woman throws a ball of thread to Bran straight over his face. Bran put his hand on the ball, which clave to his palm. The thread of the ball was in the woman’s hand, and she pulled the coracle towards the port. Thereupon they went into a large house The food that was put on every dish vanished not from them. It seemed a year to them that they were there,—it chanced to be many years. No savour was wanting to them.

“ Homesickness seized one of them, even Nechtan the son of Collbran. His kindred kept praying Bran that he should go to Ireland with him. The woman said to them their going would make them rue. However, they went, and the woman said that none of them should touch the land. . . . Then they went until they arrived at a gathering at Srub Brain. The men asked of them who it was came over the sea. Said Bran: ‘ I am Bran the son of Febal,’ saith he. However, the other saith: ‘ We do not know such a one, though the Voyage of Bran is in our ancient stories.’

¹ Ed. Meyer and Nutt, I, 2–41. See also xvi, 133–142.

"The man leaps from them out of the coracle. As soon as he touched the earth of Ireland, forthwith he was a heap of ashes, as though he had been in the earth for many hundred years." (§§ 62-65.)

Another early story belonging to the same class of narrative as that of Bran is the *Echtra Condla* (*The Adventures of Connla*),¹ a narrative that is found in the *Lebor na h-Uidre* (*The Book of the Dun Cow*), an Irish manuscript the compiler of which is said to have died in 1106, and which contains tradition much older than the eleventh century.²

One day as Connla of the Ruddy Hair was standing on Uisnech with his father, Cond the Hundred-Fighter, he saw a beautiful maiden, clad in unfamiliar garb, drawing near. She was visible only to Connla, and for him alone had she come to tell him that she loved him and to summon him to her dwelling in the lands of the living, where neither death nor sin were known, and where Connla's youth would never wither, a land that was justly called the Plain of Delight.

Cond in grave anxiety at hearing such enticing words addressed to his son, bade his druid cast a spell upon the stranger who was trying to take Connla from him. But the maiden, as she turned to leave, gave an apple to Connla. For a month he refused food and drink, and tasted nothing but his apple, which however often he partook of it never grew smaller, but always remained a perfect fruit. More and more he longed for the maiden's presence. At the end of the month he saw her coming toward him, and once more he heard her singing to him, bidding him sail with her in her boat of glass over the seas to the Plain of Delight, where none but women dwell. Connla instantly leaped into the boat with the maiden, and sailed away from his kindred. Never more did they have tidings from him.

A being of the same type as the maidens from Emain and the Plain of Delight makes her appearance in Welsh literature in the *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*,³ one of the genuine *Mabinogion*, which in its material probably antedates the twelfth century.⁴

Pwyll, Prince of Dyved, was a lord of prowess and renown. One day as he sat with some of his followers on a certain enchanted mound, he saw an

¹ Ed. Windisch, *Irische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 118 ff. Translated into English by MacSwiney, *Gaelic Journal*, II, 307; into German by Zimmer, *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889), 262 ff.; into French by D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Ép. Celt.*, I, 385 ff. For a summary see Meyer and Nutt, I, 145 ff.

² See Zimmer, *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXVIII (1887), 417; *Silva Gadelica*, II, ix; Meyer and Nutt, I, 144, 147-149. ³ *Mabinogion*, III, 46 ff.

⁴ See Meyer and Nutt, II, 18; Nutt, *Folk Lore Record*, V (1882), 1.

unknown lady wearing a garment of shining gold come riding toward him. She was mounted on a large snow-white horse, and rode at a slow and even pace. Pwyll sent one of his followers to meet her, but she passed by, and although the page rode the fleetest horse in Pwyll's stables, "the more he urged his horse, the further was she from him. Yet she held the same pace as at first. . . . 'Of a truth,' said Pwyll, 'there must be some illusion here.' " On the next day the same experience was repeated. On the third day, Pwyll once again went to the mound, and when the lady came pacing by, he himself rode after her, and urged his horse on to its greatest speed, yet he found that it availed nothing to follow her. Then Pwyll entreated her for the sake of him whom she best loved to stay for him. "'I will stay gladly,' said she, 'and it were better for thy horse, hadst thou asked it long since.'" She was journeying on her own errand, she told him in answer to his questions, and her chief quest was to seek him. She was Rhiannon, she said, the daughter of Heveydd Hên, who wished to give her to a husband against her will; but such was her love for Pwyll that him alone would she have for a husband. As she spoke, Pwyll, gazing upon her, thought that she was more beautiful than any lady whom he had ever seen, and he gladly promised to meet her a year from that day at the palace of Heveydd.

In a year's time, attended by a retinue of knights, he fulfilled his word, and was received with joy and gladness in the palace, where he was treated as lord.

The rest of the narrative does not concern us here, nor the future fate of Rhiannon. Her summons of Pwyll is enough to place her beside the queen of the Land of Women and Connla's love, even if we heard nothing of Harlech where the magic song of her birds over the sea makes time pass with the same mysterious swiftness as in Emain.¹

From these three stories we can form a distinct conception of the Celtic fairy queen, which we shall do well to keep before us in studying the fay of mediæval romance, whose likeness in attribute and deed to the maidens beloved by Bran, Connla, and Pwyll stamps her clearly as their lineal descendant. So we must lay aside, for the time being, our cherished pictures of Queen Titania and Faery Mab,² and remember that the fay of Arthurian romance is essentially a supernatural woman, always more beautiful than the imagination can possibly fancy her, untouched by time, unhampered by lack of resources for the

¹ See p. 211, note 5.

² For a popular discussion of the relation between the Celtic fay and the fairy of Shakespeare see Nutt, *The Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare*, London, 1900.

accomplishment of her pleasure, superior to human blemish, contingency, or necessity, in short, altogether unlimited in her power. Insistent love is a fundamental part of her nature, but she holds aloof from ordinary mortals and gives her favor only to the best and most valorous of knights.¹ She has complete foreknowledge, and often, as we shall see later, has guarded from infancy the mortal whom she finally takes to the other world as her beloved. However unexpectedly to the hero she appears before him, she comes always in quest of him, and for the purpose of carrying out a long-formed design of claiming his love. Her power at first is manifested by some mysterious agency. Like the musical bough to which Bran listened this may benumb the senses, or like Connla's magic apple it may increase a longing for her, or again like Rhiannon's snow-white horse, that none but Pwyll can stay, it may be the direct means of bringing the chosen hero to the fay's side. The effect of these agencies is merely the sign that the mortal is feeling the bewildering fairy influence, and unconsciously, but perforce, yielding to it. When the inevitable result ensues, and he obeys her summons to the other world, his bewilderment becomes complete oblivion, and he dwells in utter forgetfulness of all things mortal, conscious only of the delights that the fay offers him. He may grow restless at his retention in fairyland, but he cannot escape the fay's control. Her power follows him back to earth as that of the queen of Emain followed Nechtan, in the form of a command, disregard of which will bring certain punishment. We shall meet with numerous examples of the penalty that surely is paid by a mortal if he violates the injunction laid upon him by his fairy mistress; and yet we shall see her again and again showing her forgiveness of her delinquent lover, by coming to him just as the dire consequences of his disobedience overtake him, and bearing him off once more to the other world. In the fairy mythology of romance the law is invariable, that for the mortal who once has experienced the fairy control there is no true release, and that the fay is never to be thwarted in her plans to win the hero whose love she seeks. Hence, although she often appears in the pages of romance as a capricious mistress who with

¹ Cf. Philipot, *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 279.

astonishing fertility of resource provides adventures for mortals, she really moves in accordance with a definite law of her nature, the law of absolute supremacy whenever she pleases to exercise her control, and this control is primarily effective for the welfare of the knight whom she loves.¹

In the Arthurian romances there are three powerful fays who are more important than all others, Morgain la fée, the Dame du Lac, and Niniane. Of the two latter neither finds a place outside of strictly Arthurian material. Each is prominent because of her association with a single hero, the Dame du Lac with Lancelot, Niniane with Merlin. Each is distinguished by one leading characteristic: the Dame du Lac is the protectress of a young knight, Niniane the beguiler of her lover.

Morgain, on the other hand, is a much more pervasive influence than either of the others, and has made her way even outside of the Arthurian material into the *Roman de Troie* and *Huon de Bordeaux*. This fact, however, should not be interpreted as pointing to a tradition of Morgain that was independent of the "matter of Britain"; for Benoît de Sainte-More, the author of the *Roman de Troie*, though he was primarily intent upon legend developed from Dares and Dictys, was unquestionably as familiar as Wace with "Breton" tales,² and in his reference to Morgain³ we can detect him simply adopting a convention that he had learned from Arthurian stories. In the career of Huon de Bordeaux, as is well known, we are following a hero who treads the dividing line between the *chanson de geste* and the romance, and whose world is peopled quite as fully with the typical figures of Breton story as with those of the Carolingian epic. These passages, then, from the *Roman de Troie* and the *Huon*, considered apart from the special phase of tradition embodied in each, are to be regarded merely as evidence of Morgain's prominence in Arthurian fairy lore.

¹ On the nature of the fay see Nutt, *Holy Grail*, p. 232; id., *The Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare*, pp. 17, 18; Schofield, *Studies and Notes*, V, 237; *Lays of Graelent*, etc., pp. 131, 132; Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 19-22.

² See Nyrop-Gorra, *Storia dell' Epopea Francese*, Turin, 1888, pp. 243, 244.

³ See pp. 21, 161, note 3.

Another distinction which separates Morgain from the Dame du Lac and Niniane is that, although as Arthur's sister she is connected more conspicuously with him than with any other mortal, she has both amorous and hostile relations with many knights. Furthermore, it cannot be said that in her character any one trait is so far emphasized as to cast the others into the shade. As we survey the entire Morgain saga, we find her manifesting her power in a wide range of capacities, as the mistress of the healing art, the seductive *amie*, the revengeful schemer, the guardian of a young knight. If we glance over the earliest extant passages relating to Morgain, which extend approximately from 1148 to the end of the century,¹ we shall

¹ A list of these passages is appended, with approximate dates and references to the pages below, where they are treated separately:

1. *Vita Merlini*, vv. 908–940; usually attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth and dated ca. 1148. For a discussion of the authorship and date see *Vita Merlini*, pp. xcv ff.; Ward, I, 278–288; Mead, *English Merlin*, p. xciii; F. Lot, *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV (1899–1900), 332–336. (See *Sagen von Merlin*, p. 89, for a rather fanciful identification of Morgain with the *puella ex urbe Canuti*, *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. VII, ch. iv, which, if accepted, would give us an earlier reference to Morgain than the passage in the *Vita Merlini*.) See pp. 38 ff.

2. Chrétien de Troies, *Erec*, v. 1957; dated by Foerster (*Cligès*, pp. xi–xiii, xxxvii, xxxviii) probably ca. 1150; by Gröber (*Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, Strassburg, 1888–1901, II, i, 498) before 1164; by F. Lot (*Rom.*, XXVIII, 1899, 323) ca. 1160; by Paris (*Journal des Savants*, 1902, 303) ca. 1168. See pp. 61, 64, 72.

3. Id., *ib.*, vv. 4219–4228. See p. 64, Excursus III.

4. Id., *Yvain*, vv. 2951–2955; dated by Foerster (*Yvain*, Halle, 1891, pp. v, vi) between 1164 and 1173; by Paris (*Journal des Savants*, 1902, 304) ca. 1173. See pp. 64, 267, note 2, 272.

5. Benoît de Sainte-More, *Roman de Troie*, vv. 7989–7996; dated probably ca. 1165 by Gröber (*Grundriss*, II, i, 583; cf. *Erec*, p. viii); near 1160 by Paris (*Journal des Savants*, 1902, 303). See pp. 21, 161, note 3.

For a reference to Morgain in a text of the *Roman de Thèbes* see p. 132.

6. Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, vv. 1929–1933; written in 1190 (see Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1875, I, xviii). See p. 258, note 2.

7. Id., *ib.*, vv. 5152–5242. See p. 45, note 1.

8. Id., *Iwein*, vv. 3422–3424; written shortly after 1200 (see Bartsch, *Parzival*, *l.c.*). See p. 258, note 2.

9. Jendeus de Brie, *Bataille Loquifer*; written about 1170 (see Paris, *La Litt. franc. au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1890, § 40). See below, pp. 49–51.

10. *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 16, 3493, 10,381; written during the last third of the twelfth century, according to Guessard and Grandmaison, *Huon*, p. viii; and Paris, *Litt. franc.*, p. 247; dated by Voretzsch (*Epische Studien*, Halle, 1900, I, 90 ff.) 1216–1232. See below, ch. ix.

11. Renaud de Beaujeu, *Le Bel Inconnu*, v. 4258; written, according to Mennung (*Der Bel Inconnu*, Halle, 1890, p. 15), about 1190; according to

see her described as a supernatural maiden who heals Arthur's wounds after his final battle at Camlan,¹ as the maker of a magic balsam,² as the acme of beauty and skill;³ she is said to be the sister⁴ and also the niece of Arthur;⁵ she is the beautiful lady of Avalon,⁶ and the love of its lord;⁷ she is represented as the slighted mistress who seeks revenge upon a mortal favorite for spurned love.⁸ We learn that she is endowed with the gift of prophecy,⁹ the power of shape-shifting¹⁰ and of transforming the shapes of mortals,¹¹ an amorous¹² and also a quickly revengeful nature.¹³ In other words, we find no one theme, as in the case of the Dame du Lac and Niniane, around which, even in our early sources, the allusions centre, and we see that the typical attributes of a fay are assigned to Morgain. We may safely say that she is by far the most important fay portrayed in the romances, and that she is essentially the Fairy Queen of Arthurian legend. Further than this we cannot go without a more detailed examination of her doings.

Morgain has never been made the subject of special investigation. Few important studies in Arthurian romance fail to mention her, but recent discussion has dealt only in a cursory fashion, without undertaking anything elaborate, with her name and possible origin. To examine fully the conception of her nature as it is represented in the sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and to trace, if possible, the historic development of her character, in the hope of obtaining light upon the wider subject of fairy mythology, no one has hitherto attempted.

Paris (*Litt. franc.*, p. 250) in the first third of the thirteenth century. See below, p. 151, note 1.

12. Gaucher de Dourdan, *Perceval*, vv. 30,240 ff.; written, according to Nutt (*Holy Grail*, p. 95), probably immediately after the time of Chrétien de Troies. See below, pp. 156 ff.

13. *Tyolet*, v. 630; a lay of uncertain date, believed by Paris (*Rom.*, VIII, 1879, 41) not to have been written earlier than the twelfth century. See below, p. 144.

14. Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, *Lanzelet*, vv. 7185 ff.; written shortly after 1194 (see Paris, *Rom.*, X, 1881, 471). See below, p. 151, note 1.

¹ See p. 7, note 1, No. 1.

² *Ib.*, Nos. 3, 4, 7, 8.

³ *Ib.*, Nos. 10, 11, 14.

⁴ *Ib.*, Nos. 3, 7.

⁵ *Ib.*, No. 12.

⁶ *Ib.*, Nos. 1, 9.

⁷ *Ib.*, Nos. 2, 6.

⁸ *Ib.*, Nos. 5, 9.

⁹ *Ib.*, No. 1.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, No. 1.

¹¹ *Ib.*, Nos. 1, 7, 9.

¹² *Ib.*, Nos. 2, 5, 6, 9.

¹³ *Ib.*, Nos. 5, 9.

Morgain's name has been interpreted in sundry ways, and invariably connected with the sea. Freminville explained it as an alteration of *Morg-wen*, "blancheur de mer, écume de mer."¹ Maury classified her with the *fées des eaux*, and said: "On doit remarquer la grande ressemblance qui existe, entre ce nom de Morgane et ceux de *muir gheilt*, *murd hucha'n merrow*, sous lesquels on désigne en Irlande, les mermaids."² Villemarqué,³ according to Maury, "tire l'étymologie de . . . [Morgain] de *Gan*, prophète." Grimm⁴ derived it from the Breton *mor*, "meer," and *gwen*, "splendens femina." The only attempts to connect Morgain with a definite personage in story have been made by Rhys and Ferdinand Lot. Owing to the fact that the earliest spelling of Morgain's name, that in the *Vita Merlini*, is *Morgen*,⁵ Rhys connects her name with the Welsh *Muri-genos* (*Mori-genos*), *Muri-gena* (*Mori-gena*), "née de la mer."⁶ In a recent work he refers to the name *Morgain* or *Morgan* as that "given in French romances to one or more water ladies,"⁷ and has also said that "Morgan is, doubtless, to be taken to stand for a Welsh Morgen, sea-born, and identified in point of etymology with the Irish Muirgen, one of the names of the aquatic lady Liban."⁸

The story of Liban is told in one of the narratives contained in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*, the *Aided Echach mheic Mhaireda* (*Destruction of Eochaid mac Mairidh*).⁹

A certain well in Ulster overflowed its banks. Liban, the daughter of Ecce, king of Ulster, was the only member of her race who escaped death in the flood. She was transformed into a salmon below the waist, and with her pet dog, which had been changed into an otter, she passed three centuries in the waters of the lake (Lough Neagh) which had been formed by

¹ *Antiquités de la Bretagne, Côtes du Nord*, Brussels, 1837, pp. 23-25, cited by Maury, p. 74; cf. *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, ed. Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1846, v. 155, note.

² Maury, p. 74.

³ Cited by Maury, p. 74, from Villemarqué, *Contes populaires des anciens Bretons*, p. 44.

⁴ *D. M.*, I, 342, note 1.

⁵ See p. 153, note.

⁶ See Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 373. ⁷ Rhys, l.c.

⁸ *Arthurian Legend*, p. 22; cf. *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 236-239.

⁹ Published with translation in *Silva Gadelica*, I, 233-237; II, 265-269, cf. 184; translated by Crowe, *Proceedings of R. H. and A. A. of Ireland*, 1870, 94-112; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, London, 1879, pp. 97-105. For the date see above, p. 3.

the overflowing of the well. At the end of this time, St. Comgall of Bennachar, or Bangor, sent Bevan mac Imle on a mission to Gregory. As Bevan sailed over the sea he heard a chanting as of angels in the waters beneath him, and when he asked whence the song came, Liban replied that she made it, and forthwith told him her story, adding that her purpose in coming had been to bid him keep tryst with her a year from that day at *innbher Ollorba*. At the appointed day and place the nets were made ready, and the mermaid was taken in the net of a certain Fergus. "She was brought to land, her form and her whole description being wonderful. Numbers came to view her and she in a vessel with water all about her." Soon a contest for her possession arose among Comgall, Fergus and Bevan. By fasting they won a revelation from heaven which bade them yoke to the chariot in which Liban was placed two stags, and allow them to go with her wheresoever they would. The stags bore Liban away to *tech Dabheoc*. Then the clergy gave her her choice of being baptized and going to heaven in the fulness of time, or of living on earth for three hundred years. "The election she made was to depart then. Comgall baptized her, and the name that he conferred on her was Muirghein or 'sea-birth' as before; or perhaps Muirgheilt, *i.e.* 'sea prodigy,' that is to say *geilt in mhara*, or 'the prodigy of the sea.'"¹ Liban Muirghein was afterwards worshipped as a saint at the town of Tec-da-Beoc.

The Welsh name *Morgen*, however, Lot points out was in the twelfth century pronounced *Morien*: —

"Le fait intéressant c'est l'existence d'un nom de femme irlandais écrit et *prononcé* 'Muirgen,' et compris comme 'enfant de la mer.' Pour qui connaît les rapports entre les contes irlandais et les contes gallois, qui en dérivent en bonne partie, le passage du mot *Muirgen* d'Irlande en Galles avec la croyance à l'Élysée celtique n'a rien que de fort admissible. Est-ce à dire que le nom et la chose n'aient pu passer également d'Irlande en Armorique? non, certes; mais la *probabilité* de cette hypothèse est beaucoup moins grande. Nous croyons donc plus vraisemblable que Gaufrei de Monmouth ait emprunté sa description de l'île fortunée et le nom de l'enchanteresse² à un conte irlandais, soit directement, soit plutôt par l'intermédiaire d'un récit gallois."³

Rhys and Lot, it will be noticed, both base their conclusions on the form of the name, and do not emphasize a real connection in story between Liban and Morgain. The main difficulty in accepting a theory that makes Morgain in her origin a

¹ *Silva Gadelica*, II, 269.

² See pp. 38 ff.

³ See Lot, *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 323-326.

mermaid or a fay of the sea is one that presents itself as soon as we have all of the Morgain material before us. Except in so far as she is the inhabitant of an island, Avalon, she is never connected with the sea before the romance of *Floriant et Florete*, a late source, where her association with the water is probably due to the influence of local tradition in Sicily.¹ Moreover, although as we read the romances the Morgain saga seems to consist of utterly detached bits of tradition and frequently contradictory legends, when it is analyzed, it really arranges itself into a rather closely organized and entirely consistent body of material, representing a natural growth from a distinguishable germ, which, however, does not appear in any source in a form that we can be sure is original. This fact raises a presumption in favor of the view that we are not dealing with original Morgain material in our extant sources, and also that we must look behind them for some more distinct and important personality than that of the baptized Liban.

There is in Irish mythology a figure whose attributes, legend, and name suggest the possibility that Morgain may be connected with her. This being is the Irish battle-goddess, the Morrigan. There are five ancient Irish goddesses of war, Neman, Ana, Badb, Macha, and the Morrigan; but the Morrigan occupies a position of peculiar prominence among them.² She is the daughter of Ernmas, daughter of Ettarlamh, son of Nuada Airgedlamh, king of the Tuatha dé Danann,³ the folk of the *síde*, or fairy hillocks. In the *Tochmarc Emire* (*Wooing of Emer*)⁴ she is said to be the wife of the war-god Neit; but more often her husband is the Dagda, or great king, of the Tuatha dé Danann.⁵ The special function of the Morrigan among the battle-goddesses is, according to Hennessy,⁶ to incite to deeds of prowess and to plan battle. Her attributes are, of course, primarily manifested in connection with strife

¹ See pp. 251 ff.

² Cf. the references, especially to Golther, given below, p. 33, note 1.

³ See *Rev. Celt.*, I (1870-1872), 36; II (1873-1875), 491; XII (1891), 101; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 225; *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 168.

⁴ See *Rev. Celt.*, I, 36; XI (1890), 437 ff.; *Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), 231; *Zs. f. celt. Phil.*, III (1899-1900), 2.

⁵ See O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, III, 50.

⁶ *Rev. Celt.*, I, 34.

of one kind or another, and she aids in martial achievement both by direct encouragement and by her gift of prophecy.¹ She is no unimportant figure in Irish story, and, in addition to her attributes as the promoter of strife, she has certain magical powers, notably knowledge of the future, the ability to create effects of nature, and versatility in shape-shifting.²

The Morrigan has a more limited personality in the Celtic sources than Morgain has in the French romances. Her nature as a war-goddess is clearly defined, whereas Morgain exhibits the manifold activities of a fairy queen; but the resemblance between them, even on a superficial examination, is too suggestive to be dismissed without consideration. As we study the Morgain saga, we shall see whether the more important individual episodes attached to Morgain's name and the more pronounced relations in which she appears are paralleled in episodes and relations found in the legends of the Morrigan, and whether the attributes of the Morrigan are repeated in Morgain's nature. In short, it remains for us to discover whether we can trace sufficient identity in saga between the war-goddess and the fay to indicate that there is more than a merely casual resemblance between them, and, if so, to detect how they are related. The simplest plan will be to examine in turn the episodes of Morgain's career, noting on the way parallels from the Morrigan legend when they occur. We may turn first to that episode which in its original form seems to lie nearest to early Morgain material and to offer the most easily recognizable parallel to a story told of the Morrigan. From this beginning we shall find that the important remaining episodes of the Morgain saga follow in a natural sequence.

¹ *Rev. Celt.*, I, 39, 40, 41, 49, 83; XII, 101; *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 157, 219.

² See pp. 149 ff.

CHAPTER II

MORGAIN'S HOSTILITY TO ARTHUR

THE *Vita Merlini* contains, as I have said, the earliest mention of Morgain in literature and brings her into connection with Arthur as the healer of his wounds in Avalon. Her part here stands out quite distinct from that in all other important episodes of the romances in which she is associated with the king, for in every remaining instance,¹ except in late sources,² she is the perpetrator of some malign scheme against him. It may be said in general, then, that apart from those scenes in which Morgain tends the king's wounds, her hatred of him is persistent and is the ruling motive of her career wherever it touches his.

The French prose romances vary too greatly in the reasons that they assign for this hostility to leave us ground for supposing that they are giving us the true story of its origin.

In the *Lancelot*,³ Morgain is said to hate both Arthur and the queen for the same reason, namely, that the lover of her youth had been the cousin of Guinevere,⁴ who had separated her from him. In the prose *Tristan*⁵ we learn that Arthur has banished Morgain from court because of her faithlessness. According to the *Huth Merlin*,⁶ Morgain's hostility is roused by the death of her lover, Accalon of Gaul, at Arthur's hands; but before this has occurred she is said to cherish for Arthur the natural hostility of the evil toward the good. If we turn to a *Fastnachtspiel*⁷ of the fifteenth century, we find that Arthur and his sister, an enchantress, are said to be on

¹ Here should be excepted *Floriant et Florete*, *Bataille Loquifer*, *Erec*, vv. 4219 ff., sources which will be treated below. Unimportant passages occur in which Morgain and Arthur appear on friendly terms; see *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 269; *Livre d'Artus*, P., § 26; Paris, R. T. R., II, 203, 204; *Huth Merlin*, I, 201.

² See *Auberon*, vv. 1279 ff.; *Esclarmonde*, below, p. 253; *Ogier*, below, p. 76.

³ Paris, R. T. R., IV, 292.

⁴ See p. 61.

⁵ Löseth, § 190.

⁶ II, 188.

⁷ See Keller, *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Nachlese, Stuttgart, 1858, No. 127.

unfriendly terms, and fuel is added to the flame because she is not included among the guests invited to a feast. Plainly the hostility of Morgain for Arthur must rest on some earlier foundation than any of the reasons given in these sources, where the narrators are evidently seeking to account in some way or other for a recognized, but not fully understood situation.

A clue to the real cause is given in a long story told in the *Huth Merlin*¹ and *Malory*,² relating Morgain's efforts to use Excalibur, Arthur's sword, against him. In the course of this narrative occurs an episode the analysis of which shows more clearly, perhaps, than that of any other the original theme in which Morgain and Arthur probably were brought together.

In the course of a stag-hunt, Arthur, Urien (Morgain's husband), and Accalon of Gaul, her lover, are separated from their companions. Toward nightfall they find the wounded stag on the bank of a river, an easy victim for the king's blow. Suddenly they espy a beautiful vessel, silken-hung, speeding toward them down the stream. As soon as it touches shore they go aboard, and are gladly welcomed by twelve damsels, who lead them to luxurious couches for the night.

In the morning when Urien awakes he is at Camelot with Morgain.³ Accalon opens his eyes upon a meadow near a sparkling fountain not far from a great tower. Presently a dwarf sent by Morgain comes to him bringing Excalibur with the request that Accalon use it in a certain battle that she appoints for him on the following day. Arthur wakes to discover that he is imprisoned with many knights in a tower, the lord of which has a feud with his brother, which is to be settled by a contest between champions. Arthur undertakes the battle, little suspecting that the entire plan has been concocted by Morgain, who, wishing to kill him, has arranged that Accalon, armed with Excalibur, shall be his opponent. In the meantime she sends to Arthur a sword made in the likeness of Excalibur, which he has previously given into her keeping.⁴ The appointed morning dawns, and Arthur and Accalon, neither of whom recognizes the other, begin a furious combat in which Accalon gains the upper hand. The Dame du Lac, knowing of Arthur's danger, comes to his rescue just as Accalon is about to slay him, and casts an enchantment upon Excalibur that causes it to fall to the ground. Arthur at once secures it, and proceeds to overcome Accalon, but when he learns his opponent's name and the part that Morgain has played in the affair, he pardons him. The two combatants go to a convent to have

¹ II, 174 ff., 181-212, 226, 227.

² Bk. IV, ch. 6-15.

³ See below, p. 142, note 6, for further references to this episode.

⁴ See below, p. 200, note 1.

their wounds tended, and there Accalon dies. Arthur sends his body to Morgain, with the message that he has Excalibur in his own possession.

Morgain hastens to the convent where Arthur is staying; she makes her way to his chamber, and finds him sleeping sword in hand. She seizes the precious scabbard, however, and hurries off with it, knowing that Arthur, while he wears this, can lose no blood.¹ When the king wakes and discovers his loss, he unhesitatingly attributes the theft to Morgain, and sets out in pursuit of her. She flees swiftly across the open country, sees that Arthur is gaining fast upon her, and flings the scabbard far into the depths of a lake near at hand. Knowing that the Dame du Lac has come to the land for the express purpose of protecting the king, and that therefore her own magic arts have no power over him, as the only means of safety, she transforms herself and her maidens into blocks of stone. Arthur recognizes her in her altered form and looks with horror on the fate that has overtaken her. When he has passed by, she breaks the spell and goes on her way.² Later she sends him a taunting message to the effect that she is a shape-shifter and would have done something worse to him but for the protection that the Dame du Lac exercises over him. [In *Malory* she reminds him that so long as she can turn herself into stone, she does not fear him.]

This long story falls naturally into three divisions: the fairy induction, the fight between Arthur and Accalon, and Morgain's shape-shifting.

I

THE FAIRY INDUCTION

The induction to the story resembles many another that recounts the entrance of a mortal into fairyland. In the Celtic stories cited in the last chapter, the fairy mistress in person summons the hero whom she loves to the other world. But she is not limited to one method in accomplishing her ends, and we have a variety of inductions to our fairy episodes, recounting the means by which the fay draws the knight to her presence. A very ordinary form represents her as sending out a fairy messenger disguised as some tempting victim for the huntsman's dart, usually a stag, a boar, or a bird, which lures the young knight to her domain.³ Sometimes the pursuit of the other-world messenger leads him to the bank of a

¹ See p. 198.

² For an unimportant episode with Manassès, introduced at this point in the narrative, see *Huth Merlin*, II, 225, 226; *Malory*, Bk. IV, ch. 15.

³ Numerous examples will be found below; see especially pp. 17, 29, 65, 69.

stream, where he sees awaiting him a magic boat, marvellously beautiful and swift, pilotless and rudderless,¹ sent by the fay

¹ The magic boat is an extremely common means of passing from this world to the other. Connla sails with the fay to the Plain of Delight in her ship of glass (*Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII, 264, cf. 277; *Ép. Celt.*, I, 389), Cuchulinn with Liban to Fand in a boat of bronze (*Ép. Celt.*, I, 183; cf. *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 343); cf. Marie de France, *Guigemar*, vv. 151 ff.; *Partonopeus*, vv. 702 ff.; below, pp. 66 ff. Perceval is sent by a fay across a stream in a boat that returns to her as soon as he has left it (*Perceval*, vv. 30,503–30,534). At the bidding of another maiden he enters a little vessel moored on a lake shore; the next day he finds himself in Cornwall, and the maiden has vanished (Löseth, § 315). See also *Perceval*, vv. 8725 ff. For other rudderless boats cf. the *Nef de Joie*, made by Merlin and sent by Mabon, the enchanter, to convey Tristan and Iseult from Cornwall to Logres (Löseth, §§ 323–335); *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII, 277; Todd, *Irish MS. Series*, I, i, 38; *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 267; *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1864, pp. 175, 180; Löseth, § 290 a; *The Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux*, London, 1882–1887 (E. E. T. S.), pp. 439 ff.; Raoul, *Messire Gauvain ou La Vengeance de Raguidel*, ed. Hippeau, Paris, 1862, pp. 5 ff., 169–171; *Perceval*, vv. 20,892 ff., cf. 21,794 ff., 21,902 ff.; W. Müller, *Germania*, I, 429, 435; Solomon's ship, *Le Saint-Graal*, ed. Hucher, Mans and Paris, 1875–1878, II, 444 ff.; *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Furnivall, pp. 181 ff., 241; Lonelich, *Seynt Graal*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1861–1863, ch. xxviii; Löseth, §§ 512, 513; *Malory*, Bk. XVII, ch. 2 ff., cf. ch. 14; *Tavola Ritonda*, ch. cxx. See below, p. 36, note 1, for ships that transport the bodies of saints to their destination. Magic ships are frequently endowed with some peculiar virtue or beauty. Some sail by land as well as by sea. Merlin by means of art and precious stones makes such a vessel; Esglantine de Valon sails in it over sea and land to Arthur's court, and predicts that it shall carry the king to Avalon (*Prophecies*, pp. lxxii, lxxiii; cf. below, p. 17, for the *Nef de Joie* which will be destroyed after the battle of Salisbury, when Arthur shall have left the kingdom of Logres; see Löseth, § 324). This is doubtless a reflection of the ship sent by Argante to Camlan for Arthur; see p. 26. Cf. also Campbell, I, 244, 257. With these ships cf. the other-world horses that travel by sea as well as by land, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 199, 295 ff.; see also *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, IV, 245, 249; Campbell, *The Fians*, London, 1891, p. 89; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, 120; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, London, 1879, p. 36; *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV (1899–1900), 125 ff.; Child, *Ballads*, I, 96. Some other-world vessels have an elastic capacity; see *Preidden Annwn*, a Welsh poem of the fourteenth century, translated in Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, London, 1876, pp. 169, 183 ff.; *Mabinogion*, II, 258, 307, 310; Joyce, *O. C. R.*, pp. 61–67. A magic boat is made by three strokes of an axe on a sling-stick, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 299; a magic staff becomes a boat when it touches the water, Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, Boston, 1894, p. 249; a magic boat will carry only those who are free from *tricherie*, *traison*, *loberie*, *Claris et Laris*, vv. 16,116–16,185; a little boat of lead will be in the morning in whatever place the owner wishes it to be, Larminie, *West Irish Folk Tales*, London, 1893, p. 35. Magic ships navigate the air, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 453; cf. St. Agobard, *Contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis*, ed. Baluze, 1666, I, 146, for a description of certain cloud-enveloped ships from Magonia, a mystical land about which we have no definite facts (see *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. III, ch. i, note; Grimm, *D. M.*, I, 509, 531). Fairy

to convey him, in obedience to her magic guidance, to the other world.

A familiar example of this type of fairy induction is contained in the thirteenth-century romance of *Partonopeus*.

Partonopeus is a young knight who, separated from his companions in a boar-hunt, wanders through the forest until he comes in sight of the sea. A boat sails up to the shore; he goes aboard, finds it unoccupied, falls asleep, and wakes to the discovery that he is far out at sea. The boat bears him to a beautiful palace, the dwelling of the fairy princess, Melior, with whom he enters upon a secret life of delight. She has ere this loved him for his valor, and has sent the boar and the enchanted boat to guide him to her side.

The same kind of induction also occurs in an episode in the prose *Tristan*,¹ although here the sender of the enchanted ship is not a fay, but a magician.

Tristan, as he follows a stag in the chase, meets a damsel who induces him to go with her to the bank of a stream, where she shows him a marvelous vessel, the *Nef de Joie*, made by Merlin, and destined to carry him with Iseult to Logres. Tristan immediately brings Iseult to the ship, and they sail gaily over the sea. They land at an enchanted island, where the vessel leaves them and vanishes from sight. When Tristan has performed two adventures successfully, the vessel appears as suddenly as it had vanished, and the lovers once more set sail. The *Nef de Joie* speeds over the waters to its destination, the castle of Mabon the enchanter, who needing aid in performing a certain adventure has sent the vessel to bring Tristan to his land.

In *Floriant et Florete*,² Morgain herself employs a fairy boat to convey the young knight, Floriant, her fosterling, from her abode on Mongibel, where he has been brought up, to Arthur's court. It transports him thither without guidance, then speeds swiftly back across the sea to Mongibel. The ship is described

ships have been compared with the ships of the Phaeacians (*Od.*, VIII, vv. 557-563), which, pilotless and rudderless, sail wrapped in cloud and mist; see Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 175. For several of the above references I am indebted to Dr. A. C. L. Brown, in whose article "The Round Table before Wace" (*Studies and Notes*, VII, 199, note 1) a further collection may be found; see also *Id.*, *ib.*, VIII, 79, note 1; MacDougall, p. 147; cf. 289; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 276; *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 220, 221; Campbell, II, 467.

¹ Löseth, §§ 323-335.

² Vv. 791 ff., 923 ff., 2079 ff.

as a beautiful vessel made of ebony,¹ but the special feature emphasized is the hangings :

Mès or voil dire, à mon avis
Com la nef iert encortinnée
D'une cortine ; onc mius ovrée
Ne fu, par le mien escient.

Then follows an elaborate description, seventy-six verses in length, of the hangings.² It looks as if a common tradition might be the basis of this account and that in the *Huth Merlin*, where the silken hangings of the ship are the only appointments that receive attention:

Li rois . . . voit venir a val l'iaue une nef couverte de drap de soie aussi vermeil coume une esclate. Et estoit la nef si couverte de toutes pars qu'il n'i paroit riens de fust fors che qu' e[rt] emprès l'eve . . . il trueve a l'entree un drap de soie tout vermeil, qui laiens estoit mis pour chou que on n'i veist se on ne fust dedens . . . il la veoient si biele et si cointe et si paree de drap de soie qu'il ne virent onques si biel lieu ne si envoisié que cil lour samble.³

Morgain also employs a white stag to lead Floriant in the chase far from his comrades, up a mountain to the entrance of a beautiful castle. The stag vanishes from sight, and Floriant sees Morgain seated before him. She greets him with an embrace, and declares to him that he shall never leave her land.⁴

In the light of these stories, we may recognize the induction in the *Huth Merlin* as evidently a true fairy induction, and the stag-hunt and fairy boat as elements that may have been used with Morgain's name in an earlier source, which also perhaps influenced the author of *Floriant et Florete*. It should be said that the compiler of the *Huth Merlin* is capable of taking great liberties with his material. Like most of his class he is sadly prolix, and more than once he exercises his ingenuity by dividing an original adventure into sundry parts in order to make it do duty for several heroes. In the episode of *la damoisele cacheresse*,⁵ for example, one stag, one brachet, and one fay, all

¹ Vv. 791 ff.

² Vv. 846-922.

³ *Huth Merlin*, II, 175, 176. With the description of this vessel cf. especially Hucher, *Le Saint Graal*, II, 443 ff.

⁴ Vv. 8176 ff.

⁵ See pp. 228-233.

of which properly belong together as the essentials for the adventure of a single hero, by a judicious arrangement supply three knights with difficult tasks, and the maiden herself in the end wanders off with still a different lover. So here, by means of one hunt and one fairy ship, three heroes are transported to three different places. When they awake, the magic ship has vanished, and sorry adventures await them all. Not one of them is borne by the boat, as we should naturally expect, to the love of a fay. Plainly we are dealing with material that has been distorted from its original form.

II

THE FIGHT BETWEEN ARTHUR AND ACCALON

When we select from the episode the features that are grouped about Arthur, we find that they simply tell how he was brought by a magic hunt and boat to an imprisonment designed for him by Morgain, how by her he was made to fight in disguise with his own knight, and how at the moment when through her agency he was about to suffer death by his own sword at the knight's hands, he was rescued by the power of the Dame du Lac. With these points in mind it is of interest to turn to another episode, appearing in five sources, in which Arthur is represented as detained in the other world by a fay for purposes of her own.

The French prose *Tristan*¹ is the earliest source for the story.

A maiden arrives at Arthur's court, and on the pretext of an adventure summons him to her tower in the forest of Darnantes. Here she slips on his finger an enchanted ring that leads him to forget the queen and give her his love. But a damsel of the Dame du Lac comes to him, tears the ring from his finger, and advises him to behead the maiden of the tower. As Arthur is on the point of putting this advice into effect, the lady calls her brothers to her rescue, and is herself about to behead Arthur, when Tristan led by a damsel appears upon the scene and saves the king.

The same story is told with variations, not important for our purpose, in the Italian *Tristano*,² a compilation probably belonging to the end of the thirteenth century, in the *Tavola Ritonda*,³

¹ Löseth, § 74 a.

² Pp. 333-346.

³ I, 221-226.

written in the end of the thirteenth or the early fourteenth century, and in *Malory*.¹ The essentials are practically the same throughout the versions. Arthur is enticed by a fay to her dwelling, where he lives for a time in forgetfulness of his home and the queen; when at length he remembers the queen and no longer desires the fay's love, she seeks to destroy him. He is obliged to fight with her knights or with his own who are in disguise. He is about to be slain [in *Malory*, with his own sword] in the contest when, through the agency of the Dame du Lac, he is rescued.²

It will be noticed that, if we exclude the king's sojourn with the enchantress, the main features of this story agree with those of the episode in the *Huth Merlin*. In this latter source the true fairy induction, which, as a rule, leads a hero to the love of a fay, is attached to a story in its scene barely suggesting fairyland, while in its conclusion it is identical with the account of Arthur's stay in the other world with the enchantress. Of this latter episode the central part tells the story of a fay's revenge for rejected love. The question that naturally suggests itself is whether the enchantress of the story was originally Morgain, or whether in the *Huth Merlin* a theme told elsewhere of another personage is applied to Morgain, with the part of the enchantress omitted. We may be sure that if this *rôle* were originally Morgain's, by the time when the prose romances in which she is always Arthur's sister were being compiled, necessarily the story as a whole would be applied to some one else or the love theme would be omitted. This is exactly the condition in which we find the episode; the *Huth Merlin* exhibits the latter stage, the other versions the former. There are minor indications that Morgain, in the early story, was the fay who summoned Arthur to the other world to win his love. In the first place, with the exception of the *Tavola*

¹ Bk. IV, ch. 16.

² For this episode see also *Prophecies*, p. xx: a maiden who dwells with Queen Morgain will so enchant Arthur that he shall forget his court. She will make him joust with her men; he shall be rescued by one of the good knights of the world. Besides the above versions, there is an echo of the same episode in other sources. See, especially, Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 48, 55-58, 80-83; cf. below, pp. 97, 98. See *Perceval*, I, 242 ff.: Arthur is imprisoned by the Lady of the Waste Manor, who sends for her knights to joust with him. He is saved by Lancelot.

Ritonda, which is a late romance and evidently is engrafting another story upon that of the enchantress, the only source in which the fay is given a name is *Malory*; here she is called Annowre, a name which we shall see may possibly have become confused with Morgain.¹ In the *Prophecies* the enchantress is one of Morgain's damsels. Another fact adding to the probability that Morgain was the original enchantress is that the Dame du Lac invariably destroys the maiden's power and rescues the king. Morgain and the Dame du Lac frequently appear as opposing influences,² and when the Dame du Lac employs her power to befriend Arthur it is usually for the purpose of thwarting some scheme of Morgain's.

More suggestive, however, than either of these considerations is Benoît de Sainte-More's account of Hector's experiences with Morgain.

Hector monta sor Galatée
Que li tramist Morgan la fée
Qui moult l'ama et le tint chier,
Mès ne la volt o sei colchier,
Et por la honte qu'ele en ot
Si l'en haï tant com plus pot.
Ço fu li très plus biax chevax
Qu'ainz chevalchast nus hom mortax.³

This reference to Morgain's love for Hector is altogether unique, but it affords definite proof that the story of the flouted fay whose love turned to hatred was told of her at a comparatively early period.

Beside this passage, which contains one of the earliest references to Morgain that we have,⁴ and beside the account of the rejected love of the enchantress and her consequent desire to kill Arthur, there should be placed a scene in the Morrigan's career, which is described in the *Lebor na h-Uidre* in an early twelfth-century recension of the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*.⁵

¹ See pp. 139 ff. This maiden's name appears in Geoffrey, Wace, and Layamon as that of a daughter of Ebraucus, the founder of the Castle of Maidens (Edinburgh). In Geoffrey (*Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. II, ch. viii) the form is *Anaor*; in Wace (*Brut*, vv. 1605, 1606), *Anor*; in Layamon (*Brut*, v. 2719), *Annore*. ² See Chap. XII, iii.

³ *Roman de Troie*, vv. 7989-7996. For a possible echo of Morgain's hatred of Hector, see Löseth, § 627. ⁴ Cf. p. 7, note 1.

⁵ Translated into German by Zimmer, *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXVIII (1887), 456 ff. The quotations below are from *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 164 ff. See above, p. 3, for the date.

"Cuchullin saw draw near him a young woman of surprising form, wrapped also in a mantle of many colours. 'Who art thou?' he asked. She made answer: 'Daughter of Buan the king. I am come to thee. For the record of thy deeds I have loved thee, and all my valuables and my cattle I bring with me.' 'Surely,' he said, 'the season is not opportune in which thou hast come to us; my bloom is wasted with hardship nor, so long as in this strife I shall be engaged, is it easy for me to hold intercourse with a woman.' 'But in thy labor thou shalt have mine aid.' He answered her: 'Go to, not as putting my trust in a woman's aid was it that I took this job in hand.' 'It shall go hard with thee,' she said, 'what time thou settest-to with men and I come to take part against thee.'" She makes the same threats and Cuchulinn the same replies that they exchange in the conversation referred to below in the *Tain Bo Regamna*.¹ Then she goes away from him. Later Cuchulinn meets in conflict the great warrior Loch. Then the Morrigan comes out of the *sidhe* to destroy Cuchulinn. She carries out her threats of shape-shifting and tries to hamper him in his fight. He fractures one of her eyes, and she does not succeed in preventing his final victory.

There is then, as of the enchantress, so also of the Morrigan, a story telling how she vainly offered her love to a hero, how her resentment followed him, and how he visited her with forcible punishment; and Morgain's hatred of Hector is paralleled by the Morrigan's of Cuchulinn.

It is not possible to regard any of the points noticed above as more than considerations increasing the probability of an original story to the effect that the fairy queen offered her love to Arthur, that he dwelt with her for a time, rejected her love, and thus incurred her displeasure, leading her to attempt to work him harm. She may have been represented as enticing him to her by a fairy stag and boat. A parallel to one possible stage that the story may have assumed before it passed into the *Huth Merlin* is afforded by the account given in *Malory*² of a fairy adventure of King Meliodas of Liones.

"[The wyf of Melyodas] was a ful meke lady | and wel she loved her lord | & he her ageyne | . . . Thenne ther was a lady in that countrey that had loued kynge Melyodas longe | And by no meane she neuer coude gete his loue therefore she lete ordeyne vpon a day as kynge Melyodas rode on huntynge | for he was a grete chacer | and there by an enchauntement she made hym chace an herte by hym self alone | til that he came to an old Castel | and there anone he was taken prysoner by the lady that hym loved." Merlin releases him.

¹ P. 24.² Bk. VIII, ch. 1. Cf. Löseth, § 20, p. 490; below, p. 201.

Of the many extant episodes in which Morgain and Arthur are concerned there is only one other that has value in enabling us to determine Morgain's relation to the story of the enchantress, and to discover if the episode of the Morrigan from the *Tain Bo Cuailgne* is repeated in Morgain's life and connected with Arthur. This is the important story of the sojourn of Arthur in Avalon, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

III

MORGAIN'S SHAPE-SHIFTING

Before turning to Arthur's sojourn in Avalon we have one more feature of the narrative in the *Huth Merlin* to examine, namely, the strange account of Morgain's shape-shifting.

In the picture of her flight and sudden transformation of herself into stone there is far more of the wild mystery that pertains to Celtic legend than in any other episode related of her; and even with no further support than this characteristic, it is scarcely unsafe to affirm that we are here fairly close to early material. Yet Gaston Paris says: "L'enchantement dont Arthur est l'objet de la part de sa sœur Morgue, son combat contre Accalon, . . . la fuite et les prestiges de Morgue, paraissent ne se rattacher à aucun récit subséquent et être sortis uniquement de l'invention de l'auteur."¹

It is indeed an isolated case in the Morgain saga, and apparently in the French romances.² The *Tain Bo Regamna*, however, one of the introductory tales to the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*,³

¹ *Huth Merlin*, I, xlv.

² See p. 216 for examples of the transformation of living beings into stone by the magic stroke of a sorceress. Petrification as a punishment for disregard of some magic injunction or divine law is almost too common in folk-stories to demand example; see, e.g., Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1896, III, 96 ff., 129; Maury, p. 48; Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, London, 1895, pp. 303, 304. For trolls petrified at dawn, see Bugge-Schofield, *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1899, pp. 236-240, 254. For magic means used to avoid capture in pursuit, see *Mabinogion*, III, 358, 359; Campbell, I, 32-34. None of these references, however, offers a parallel to the Morgain episode.

³ Edited and translated from the fourteenth-century manuscript, *The Yellow Book of Lecan* and from *Egerton 1782*, in Stokes and Windisch, II, ii, 239-254. Translated in *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 103 ff. The quotations given below are from the latter translation.

describes a meeting between the Morrigan and Cuchulinn that should be noted in connection with this story of Morgain's shape-shifting.

The Morrigan is driving away from the Sidh of Cruachan a cow that she has taken for purposes of her own. Cuchulinn is roused from sleep by a terrible cry, and as he hastens out to follow the sound, he meets a chariot harnessed with a one-legged chestnut horse, through whose body the pole of the chariot passed. "Within the chariot sat a woman, her eye-brows red, and a crimson mantle round her. . . . A big man went along beside the chariot . . . while he drove a cow before him." Cuchulinn remonstrates with her for driving away the cow, insisting that all the cattle of Ulster belong to him; but she meets his reproof defiantly. He is about to spring into the chariot so as to threaten her with his spear, "but horse, woman, chariot, man and cow all had disappeared. Then he perceived that she had been transformed into a blackbird on a branch close by him. 'A dangerous enchanted woman you are,' said Cuchullin. . . . 'If I had only known that it was you, we should not have parted thus!' 'Whatever you have done,' said she, 'will bring you ill-luck!'" She threatens further that when he is engaged in combat with a man as strong as himself she will become in turn an eel, a gray wolf, and a white, red-eared cow, and in each shape will hinder him from victory. He vows that he will hurt her in every guise, and never give her help if she does not leave him. Thereupon the Morrigan departs into the Sidh of Cruachan, and Cuchulinn goes to his own dwelling.

If we analyze this episode we find that structurally it bears a resemblance to the story of Morgain's transformation. The Morrigan is carrying away property that Cuchulinn claims as his; Morgain is stealing Arthur's scabbard. Both Cuchulinn and Arthur rise from their sleep to hasten out in pursuit. Cuchulinn is about to attack the Morrigan when she and the cow vanish from sight, and she reappears in a changed form; Arthur is on the point of overtaking Morgain, when she flings the scabbard out of sight into the lake and shifts her shape. The Morrigan reminds Cuchulinn that she can transform herself at her pleasure, and threatens him with destruction; Morgain reminds Arthur that while she can transform herself into stone she does not dread him.

The differences in detail are too great for much importance to be attached to the parallel, which, however, when added to other resemblances that exist between the sagas of Morgain and the Morrigan demands a certain degree of consideration.

CHAPTER III

THE SOJOURN OF ARTHUR IN AVALON

I

It is rare to find so excellent an illustration of the pliability of romantic material for narrators' purposes as that which is offered in the literary treatment of Arthur's connection with Morgain in the other world. The theme is handled by chroniclers in prose and verse, in Latin as well as in the vulgar tongues, by learned poets, by a compiler of popular stories, by the compilers of French prose romances, and by the author of a late poetical romance.¹ Furthermore, we know something of the methods of a few of those who have reported the story, and can interpret their silence or elaborations by means of our acquaintance with their habits. For example, Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his avowed rôle of historian, dips only far enough into romance to give the bare outer form of the tradition: *Sed et inclytus ille Arturus rex letaliter vulneratus est, qui illinc ad sananda vulnera in insulam Avallonis advectus*, etc.² Wace connects the "Breton hope" with Avalon, but he treats it with a characteristic caution, and adds to Geoffrey's mention only the expectation of Arthur's people that the king will return to them.

En Avalon se fit porter
Por ses plaies médiciner.
Encor i est, Breton l'atendent,
Si com il dient et entendent;
De là vandra, encor puet vivre.³

Not before Lazamon do we find a narrator telling the story without reserve, and previous to his account⁴ there is no existing

¹ See pp. 26, 27, 34-39, 250.

² *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. XI, ch. ii.

³ *Brut*, vv. 13,683 ff.

⁴ Lazamon's *Brut* is placed by Madden tentatively at the beginning of the thirteenth century (I, xx). It is usually dated ca. 1205; see Mead, *English Merlin*, p. lv.

trace in literature after the *Vita Merlini* to indicate the development of the fay's part in the tradition recorded there.

According to Laȝamon's version,¹ Arthur, mortally wounded at Camelford, summons to him Constantine, the son of Cador, Earl of Cornwall, and bids him farewell.

And ich wulle uaren to Aualū:	& forð gunnen hine liðen.
to uaireft alre maidene.	þa wef hit iwurðen:
to Argante þere quene:	þat Merlin feide whilen.
aluen fwiðe ſceone.	þat weore unimete care:
& heo flal mine wunden:	of Arðuref forð — fare.
makien alle ifunde.	Bruttef ileueð ȝete:
al hal me makien:	þat he bon on liue.
mid haleweiȝe drēchen.	and wunnien in Aualun:
And feoðe ich cumen wulle:	mid faireft alre aluen.
to mine kineriche.	and lokieð euere Buttef ȝete:
and wunien mid Brutten:	whan Arður cumē liðe.
mid muchelere wunne.	Niſ nauer þe mon iborē:
Æfne þan worden:	of nauer nane burde icoren.
þer com of ſe wenden.	þe cunne of þan foðe:
þat wes an ſceort bat liðen:	of Arðure fugen mare.
ſceouen mid vðen.	Bute while wef an witeȝe:
and twa wimmē þer inne:	Mærlin ihate.
wunderliche idihte.	he bodede mid worde:
and heo nomen Arður anā:	hiſ quiðeſ weoren foðe.
and aneoufte hine uereden.	þat an Arður ſculde ȝete:
and foſte hine adun leiden:	cum Anglen to fulſte. ²

In our sources for the legend that is incorporated here, the *Argante* of Laȝamon is an isolated case.³ The supernatural woman who heals Arthur's wounds, according to all sources except one,⁴ where she is unnamed, is Morgain. The *Vita Merlini*, earlier than Laȝamon's *Brut* by half a century, gives evidence that before his time tradition had made Morgain the healing lady of Avalon;⁵ and, although there is reason to believe that the story recorded by Laȝamon survived in sundry developments and was rationalized,⁶ it is to Morgain that these developments and rationalizations are all attached. *Argante* is apparently the feminine of *Argant* (brilliant), a masculine name which we find in its simple form as early as 869 in the

¹ *Brut*, vv. 28,610 ff.

² Cf. vv. 23,061–23,080.

³ See Madden, *Brut*, III, 385, note on v. 23,070.

⁴ See p. 46.

⁵ See p. 38.

⁶ See pp. 37, 38.

Cartulaire de Redon,¹ and which appears frequently before the twelfth century in both masculine and feminine Breton compound names;² a similar form also occurs in Welsh compound names for which there is twelfth-century authority.³ Hence we have excellent reason to assume that *Argante* was a Celtic proper name, well known in Lajamon's time. He may have adopted it into his story by mistake or deliberate intention, perhaps simply through the almost unconscious process by which narrators at all times have been prone to substitute for an unfamiliar name one that is familiar, resembling the original in sound. This is exactly what Lajamon is doing when for *Margan*, the name of a British leader that he found in his source,⁴ he uses *Morgan*,⁵ which was an exceedingly common masculine name in his day.⁶ All the more readily then, since *Morgan*, *Morgant*,⁷ *Morgain* were all current spellings of the fay's

¹ See Courson, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon*, Paris, 1863, p. 83. Cf. J. Loth, *Chrestomathie Bretonne*, Paris, 1890, p. 188, *Cartulaire de Quimperlé (Finistère)*, p. 35, a cartulary redacted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; see Loth, p. 107.

² See the feminine names *Argantan*, Courson, pp. 116 (ann. 829 or 830), 118 (ann. 867); Loth, p. 107. *Arganthael*, Courson, p. 136 (ann. circiter 836); Loth, pp. 107, 134. *Argan(t)ken*, Courson, p. 395 (ca. 1130-1140); Loth, pp. 107, 116. *Argantlon*, Courson, pp. 99 (ann. 821), 362 (ann. 846), cf. p. 146; Loth, p. 107. See also the masculine names *Argantlouuen*, Courson, p. 103 (ann. 842); Loth, p. 147. *Argantmonec*, Courson, p. 205 (ann. 826); Loth, p. 152. *Argantphitur*, Loth, pp. 107, 156. Cf. for further examples Loth, pp. 37, 107, 188.

³ In the *Book of Llan Dâu* (ed. Evans and Rhys, Oxford, 1893), redacted in the twelfth century and containing historic material of a much earlier date, there occurs *Arganhell*, as a feminine name, I, 82-83, as a masculine, I, 75, 173, 372. See furthermore the name of the Irish hero Nuada Argetlamh, below, p. 160.

I am indebted to Professor G. L. Kittredge for pointing out to me the above Breton and Welsh names.

⁴ Wace, *Brut*, vv. 2108 ff., *pass.*; cf. *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. II, ch. xv [Marganus].

⁵ Lajamon, *Brut*, vv. 3760-3867, *pass.* *Margane* occurs v. 3847, *MS. Cott. Calig. A. IX*.

⁶ See p. 267. Lajamon retains the original name of the town called after Margan.

Wef þet lond þurh Morgan :

Margan ihætē.

(vv. 3866, 3867.)

Cf. *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. II, ch. xv: [*pagus*] *qui post interfectionem Margani eius nomine videlicet Margan . . . appellatus est*; Wace, *Brut*, v. 2147, *De Margan ot Marge, cest nom*.

⁷ Lajamon's contemporary, Gervasius of Tilbury (*Otia Imperialia*, ed. Leibnitz, I, 937; written in the year 1212; see Ten Brink, *Gesch. der Eng. Lit.*, ed. Brandl, Strassburg, 1899, I, 216), uses the form *Morganda*, which is evidently latinized from a form with final *t*.

name at his time,¹ would he turn from any one of these forms with its baffling masculine appearance to a familiar *Argante*.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the story in the *Vita Merlini* of the mistress of the *Insula Pomorum* cannot have been *Lazamon's* source. There is abundant evidence that he was not averse to elaborating *Wace's* record by the introduction of current Celtic folk tales,² and substantially the same story that he tells in one passage is given in a brief and condensed statement by two of his contemporaries, *Gervasius of Tilbury* and *Giraldus Cambrensis*,³ both of whom, by the terms in which they refer to it as the idle concoction of Breton storytellers, show that they have not derived it from a literary source. *Lazamon's* account of Arthur's departure from earth contains one of the commonest themes of fairy lore, — the fay's summons of the hero to fairyland. This theme has a place comparatively early in the *Morgain* material, where it is represented by the *Bataille Loquifer*, and it is repeated of Morgain more often perhaps than any other. But in *Lazamon* there is present an element somewhat foreign to the usual situation. The love-motive is always the prominent and inevitable feature when the fay takes the knight to her abode, and it is not to the wounded hero that she is attracted. When she comes upon the scene as a healer she is usually engaged in a beneficent rather than an amatory errand.⁴ She protects the hero whom she already loves from receiving wounds,⁵ but her love is not first drawn to a knight in the hour of his weakness. The only source in which the love-motive is defined is the late *Gesta Regum Britanniae*,⁶ where the result of the king's healing is nothing more or less than a fairy imprisonment

¹ See pp. 152, note 1, 258, note 2.

² See Wülcker in Paul u. Braune, *Beiträge*, III, 543–548; *Lazamon, Brut*, I, xvi; A. C. L. Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VII, 188–190, 202.

³ See p. 35, notes 1, 2.

⁴ See *Lancelot*, II, lxxvii; Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 65 ff.; *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 92, cf. 94; *Livre d'Artus, P.*, § 143.

⁵ See p. 161; cf. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 252.

⁶ This Latin poem, commonly known as the work of the Pseudo-Gildas, is dated by its editor, Francisque Michel, and by F. Lot (*Rom.*, XXVIII, 1899, 330) shortly after 1234. Lot argues, though not conclusively, that its author is Guillaume de Rennes, a Dominican monk of the first half of the thirteenth century; cf. Ward, I, 274 ff.

exercised by the queen of the other-world island, whither he has gone :—

sanati membra reservat
ipsa sibi ; vivuntque simul si credere fas est.

It is almost a commonplace in romantic tradition that with the name of a great hero there should be connected the story of a fairy retention. Cuchulinn, Oisín, Merlin and Ogier, all came under the sway of a fairy mistress, and the idea that there was an original theme which we know only through a transformed version, allotting to Arthur's share an amorous sojourn in fairyland, receives a limited support by analogy with the experiences of other heroes.¹ We are, however, by no means reduced to such vague associations as these in detecting the original that lies behind Layamon's account. Celtic literature supplies a tradition which is peculiarly instructive when compared with Layamon's narrative, and which proves to be highly important in explaining the account of Arthur's stay with Morgain in Avalon, as well as Morgain's relations to both Arthur and Guinevere. This is the story of the summons of Cuchulinn to the other world by Fand, told in the *Serglige Conchulaind* (*Cuchulinn's Sick Bed*),² which is preserved in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*,³ and therefore represents material very much older than the earliest extant versions of the story of Arthur in Avalon.

Two beautiful birds alight one day on a lake near which the Ultonians are assembled, and sing a low melody that lulls the hearers to sleep. Cuchulinn makes an attempt to slay them, but his efforts are in vain, and he goes apart from his comrades, melancholy and aware that drowsiness is

¹ Some such lingering tradition Spenser may have had before him. He describes Arthur (*Fairy Queen*, I, ix, 13-15) after a day spent in "ranging the forest wide on courser free," alighting from his horse and being overcome with sleep as he stretches himself out wearily on the grass at the foot of a tree. Whether he dreamed or whether it were true he could not tell, but it seemed to him that a beautiful maiden appeared to him and bade him love her, remained at his side, and "at her parting said she Queen of Fairies hight." Ever after Arthur sought her eagerly.

² Published, with notes and introduction, by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 197 ff.; translated into English by O'Curry, *Atlantis*, I, 363 ff.; into German by Zimmer, *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXVIII (1887), 595 ff.; into French by D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Ép. Celt.*, I, 174-216; summarized Meyer and Nutt, I, 153-158.

³ See *Ép. Celt.*, I, 173, 174.

stealing upon him. Two strange women draw near him smiling, and in turn they stroke him with switches that they carry. When his strength fails, they leave him, and he lies in a long trance, after awaking from which he remains for a year without uttering a word. Then a stranger comes to him, and sings of two women who can give him back his strength; they are Liban, the wife of Labraid, who dwells in the Plain of Delight, and her sister, Fand, who is filled with love for Cuchulinn.

His message given, the stranger departs. He is soon followed by another messenger from Fand, her sister Liban, one of the two women who had given Cuchulinn the strokes with the switches. If Cuchulinn will come with her to the Plain of Delight, and fight against the enemies of Labraid, his reward shall be nothing less than Fand's love. The weakness which he pleads as an excuse need be no obstacle in his way, for he shall be healed of his disease and shall regain the strength that he has lost. This promise induces Cuchulinn to send his charioteer with Liban in her little bronze boat to Fand's island; and when the charioteer returns, at his description of the marvellous charms of the land and of its mistress Cuchulinn feels refreshed and strengthened. Again Liban comes for him, and this time he sails with her to the Plain of Delight. Here he overcomes Labraid's enemies, and passes a month of happiness in the love of Fand. When he must perforce leave her for Ireland, they arrange a tryst at Ibar-Cind-Trachta. Emer, Cuchulinn's wife, hears of the proposed meeting, and hastens to the appointed place, armed and attended by fifty women, with the intention of killing Fand. Cuchulinn protects Fand from Emer's violence, but his wife's chidings and grief stir his pity, and he avows his loyalty to her. Fand acknowledges Emer's prior claims, and realizes that she must relinquish Cuchulinn; but she declares that by his desertion of her, he loses her love. Cuchulinn is seized with madness, as he sees Fand turn to leave him, and it is only by means of a druidical draught of forgetfulness that he and Emer are brought back to their former happy estate. Manannan mac Lir, Fand's husband, shakes his cloak between the lovers that they may never meet again.

The essential elements of this long story, it will be noticed, represent also those of both the Arthur-Avalon episode and the story of Arthur and the enchantress. In the former, just as two women summon Cuchulinn to the other world, whither, induced by Fand's promise of healing, he sails in a boat guided by a fairy messenger, so two fays come for Arthur, and in a magic boat convey him to the other world for the healing of his wound; there he, like Cuchulinn, dwells with a beautiful fairy queen. In the enchantress story also, Arthur passes a period in the oblivion of the other world with a fay who has summoned him to her. When, like Fand, she sees that the force of her spell wanes, and that with revived memories of

the queen the hero no longer submits to her power, her love ceases. If, then, we presuppose that a story similar to that of Cuchulinn and Fand was attached to Arthur and a fairy queen, we may understand the two developments seen in the accounts of Arthur's experiences in Avalon with Morgain, and in the tower with the enchantress. The latter episode, it is evident, reveals a somewhat less contaminated phase of the early material, since it includes the king's forgetfulness of the queen while he is enjoying the love of the fay, and also the remembrance of her as the motive force in inducing him to leave the fairy mistress, elements neither of which has a place in the Avalon episode. The course may be traced, however, by which the original material was worked over into the form in which we find it in the latter.

There is one essential difference between Fand's summons of Cuchulinn and Argante's summons of Arthur as *Lazamon* records it. Both heroes, it is true, go to the other world for healing, but Cuchulinn's so-called disease, like the magic sleep caused by the song of the enchanted birds, is simply the evidence that he is within the fairy power. He himself sends word to Emer during his debility that fays have injured him. Just as the maiden from the Plain of Delight exerts her power over Connla through the magic apple that fills him with longing for her in her absence, so the destruction of Cuchulinn's strength is the means used by the fay to induce him to come to her land. Arthur, on the contrary, is not under the influence of a druidic trance, but his wounds have been received on a well-fought field, where he has performed many deeds of valor.

What significance shall we attach to this difference in the situations? Two considerations are important in an analysis of the Arthur-Avalon episode, the conception of the hero himself and that of the being who allures him. The legend that represents Arthur in Avalon enjoying the healing touch of a fay embodies only one of the phases assumed by the belief of the Britons that Arthur had fallen at Camlan. The anticipation of the king's return to this world as a deliverer of his oppressed countrymen had taken remarkably deep root in the national imagination certainly by the early part of the twelfth

century.¹ In the early records the tradition does not show itself crystallized into any one form. Arthur is the exalted hero whom his people refuse to believe dead, and whose return from a vague resting-place they fondly anticipate; and by far the larger part of the allusions to this belief in the literature of the second half of the twelfth century partake of the same indeterminate character.² In consideration of the indefinite form in which the tenacious tradition persisted, it is not surprising and is in fact an illustration of no unfamiliar principle in the growth of myth, to find it differentiated into four varieties.³ Thus, according to one form of the tradition, Arthur has gone to Avalon for healing. Again he sleeps in an enchanted cave, waiting for the spell that holds him to be broken.⁴ He is the leader of the *wüthendes Heer*.⁵ He lives transformed into a raven.⁶

Of these four traditions the first is the earliest to make its appearance in literature and is the most persistent in literary sources; for traces of the story that Arthur rests at Avalon are to be detected in the later chroniclers' accounts of his burial at Glastonbury, with which Avalon was identified.⁷ In this form of the tradition, the fay is by no means always in evidence, although the excuse for Arthur's presence in Avalon is always the healing of his wound.⁸ We should not fail to

¹ See *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, p. 420; Hermannus Monachus, *De miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis*, ed. Migne, CLVI, col. 983 (cf. Zimmer, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII, 1891, 106 ff.); *Prophetia Anglicana*, Frankfurt, 1603, pp. 19, 20 (written 1170-80; see Ward, I, 209); Meyer, *Rom.*, VI (1877), 123.

² See *Black Book of Caermarthen*, a manuscript belonging to the twelfth century, ed. Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, II, 3 ff., 181, 182; cf. 316; Joseph of Exeter, who lived during the reign of Henry II, cited *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, p. 417; *Lanzelet*, v. 6909; Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein*, v. 14; Petrus Blesensis, *Ep.* 57, cited *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, l.c.; Arrighetto da Settimello, *De Diversitate Fortunae*, ed. Manni, under title *Arrighetto ovvero trattato contro all' avversità della Fortuna*, Florence, 1730, p. 7; cf. Graf, *Giorn. Stor.*, V (1885), 102; see also *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 18 ff.

³ See Usener, *Die Sintfluthsagen*, Bonn, 1899, p. 81.

⁴ See below, p. 215.

⁵ See *Didot-Perceval*, I, 502; Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, pp. 12, 13, 200; Grimm, *D.M.*, II, 786; Mogk, in Paul, *Grundriss der germ. Phil.*, Strassburg, 1897-98, III, 255 ff.; Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la H. Bretagne*, I, 219.

⁶ Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, XIII, 49; see below, p. 34, note 2.

⁷ See p. 40, note 2.

⁸ See the passages cited above on pp. 25, 26, from Geoffrey, Wace, Layamon, and the *Vita Merlini*; cf. Pierre de Langtoft, *Chronicle*, ed. Wright, London,

bear in mind that the hero of the story is Arthur, of whom there was the historic record that he had died fighting in battle, and concerning whom the all-absorbing thought to the *fabulosi Britones* was that he still lived and would come back to them. So common in popular story was the theme of a mortal's return to this world after a long period of oblivion in fairyland that almost inevitably Arthur's resting-place had to be made Avalon, and his stay in the other world, which undoubtedly had a place in tradition, came to be identified with his life after death. In fact it is difficult to see how the three traditions, that Arthur was mortally wounded in battle, that he would return to this world after death, and that he was beloved by a fairy mistress, could escape the fate that moulded them into the Arthur-Avalon episode. Thus by the mingling of historic and romantic tradition with myth, the important element in the story became not the love of the fay, but the cure of the wounds that Arthur, the British king, had received in his final battle. Hence the fay's dispelling of the magic weakness that she has herself caused becomes the healing in Avalon of the king's wounds, and the battlefield is the spot where she seeks him to take him under her peculiar care.

Although neither *Lazamon* nor *Gervasius* states expressly that the fay herself came to *Camlan* for Arthur, all the other versions represent *Morgain* as visiting in person the field of battle. Her office here calls to mind that of the Scandinavian battle-maidens, who choose for *Odin* the warriors wounded on the battlefield and bear them to *Valhalla*.¹ Here, too, an echo of the *Morrigan* tradition is to be detected.

1866, I, 224; John Fordun, *Scotorum Historia*, apud Gale, *Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae Scriptores XV*, Oxford, 1691, I, 637; Boccaccio, *De Cas. Vir. Ill.*, VIII, xcix. In the so-called *Draco Normannicus*, without mention of either *Morgain* or *Avalon*, there is a record of the king's healing after *Camlan*: — *ibique vulneratus sit, sed herbis fatalibus permixtis, adhuc vivit* (*Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. d' Roi*, VIII, 306; cf. 298); and the Italian *Lancelotto*, a romantic poem belonging to the second half of the fourteenth century, gives simply the story of a magic ship that bore Arthur away to an unknown land after *Salisbury*; the Britons look for his return, although it is said that he was found dead in a church *dopo sua finita*. (*Li chantari di Lancelotto*, ed. Birch, London, 1874, pp. 76, 77; *Lancelotto Poema Cavalleresco*, ed. Giannini, Fermo, 1871, VI, 51, 52. The poem is also known as *La Struzione della Tavola Ritonda*.)

¹ See Grimm, *D. M.*, I, 349. In the *Bataille Loquifer* (p. 249), *Avalon* is represented as the gathering place of heroes who have passed from this life. For

In the *Aided Cuchullin*¹ or *The Death of Cuchulinn*, the last advance of Cuchulinn's foes against him is described.

"And on the night before the Morrigan had broken the chariot, for she liked not Cuchullin's going to the battle, for she knew that he would not come again to Emain Macha." During the final battle, though powerless to aid Cuchulinn, in distress she hovers above him in the form of a crow, and after he has received his death-wound, she perches on a stone near him. When his enemies advance and slay him, the Morrigan, seeing that her mission is ended flies away from the scene.²

the resemblances between the Valkyries and the Irish war-goddesses, cf. Lottner, *Rev. Celt.*, I (1870-71), 55 ff.; Bugge-Schofield, *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1899, pp. 62, 86, 188; Golther, *Der Valkyrjenmythus in Studien sur germanischen Sagengeschichte*, Munich, 1888, pp. 5 ff.

¹ Abridged from the Book of Leinster, 77 a, by Whitley Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, III (1876-78), 175 ff.; see *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 254-263; *Rev. Celt.*, I, 50.

² The Morrigan very frequently assumes the form of a crow; see *Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), 231; *Rev. Celt.*, I, 39 ff.; cf. below, p. 149.

For the common association of the Irish war-goddesses with the crow, see Pictet, *Rev. Arch.*, July, 1868, pp. 4 ff.; *Rev. Celt.*, I (1870-72), 34; Bugge-Schofield, *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 62. Cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Rev. Arch.*, 3^{ième} série, XXXVI (1900), 70, for a description of two Gallo-Roman reliefs in which he identifies the figures of three birds with the Morrigan, Badb and Macha.

Cervantes (*Don Quixote*, I, xiii) preserves the Breton hope in a unique form.

El rey Artus, de quien es tradicion antigua y comun en todo aquel reino de la Gran Bretaña, que este rey no murió, sino que por arte de encantamento se convirtió en cuervo, y que andando los tiempos ha de volver á reinar y á cobrar su reino y cetro.

See also *ib.*, xlix. Cf. *Persiles*, I, 18:—

[Error] deve de ser lo que las fabulas cuentan de la conversion en cuervo del Rey Artus de Inglaterra, tan creyda de aquella discreta nacion que se abstiene de matar cuervos en toda la isla.—No sé... de dónde tomó principio essa fábula, tan creyda como mal imaginada.

Among the statutes of Hoel the Good, who died in 993, there are two prohibitory of the slaughter of crows, hawks, falcons, eagles and cranes. (See *Don Quixote*, ed. John Bowles, London, 1781, I, xiii; III, 48.) This law, which arose from a desire to preserve useful birds, gave foundation according to Ticknor (*Don Quixote*, New York, 1897, p. 55, note 2) for the popular belief that Arthur was transformed into a crow. If a connection between Morgain and the Morrigan be established some light may perhaps be thrown upon this strange tradition. The Morrigan as a crow hovers over Cuchulinn until his death, when she takes her flight from the field; Morgain comes to the battlefield and bears Arthur away to Avalon. At this point of our investigation, we may recognize a possible treatment of these two traditions that resulted in the belief which we know through Cervantes.

A modern Breton tale is cited by Bellamy (*La Forêt de Bréchéliant*, Rennes, 1896, I, 129):—Morgain became enamoured of Arthur, transported him in a cloud to Avalon, made him forget Guinevere and finally allowed him to leave the island only in the form of a crow. He will regain his human form and return to earth to reign once more.

II

In the later versions the important features of the early story remain prominent. They are emphasized outside of the romances by Gervasius of Tilbury,¹ who stands chronologically next to Layamon among the authors who mention the fay in connection with Arthur's disappearance from earth, and also by Giraldus Cambrensis,² who in an effort to separate fiction from what he believes to be truth, in reality throws light upon certain features in the later tradition. He, in common with the majority of the chroniclers even so late as the fourteenth century,³ regards as the idle story of fanciful Britons the tradition that Arthur would come again; and he is quite ready to believe that the king was buried in the island of Avalon, which as early as William of Malmesbury's time had been identified with Glastonbury,⁴ where in the latter part of the twelfth century⁵ the monks announced that they had discovered Arthur's tomb. Hence the story of the king's sojourn in Avalon for the healing of his wounds is merged into that of his burial

¹ *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Leibnitz, I, 937 (see above, p. 27, note 7, for the date): —

Arcturus vulneratur, omnibus hostibus ab ipso peremptis. Unde secundum vulgarem Brittonum traditionem in insulam Davalim ipsum dicunt translatus ut vulnera quotannis recrudescencia subinterpolata sanatione curarentur a Morganda fatata: quem fabulose Britones post data tempora credunt reditum in regnum.

² *Speculum Ecclesiae, Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Brewer, London, 1861-91, IV, 48, 49: —

Itaque Arthuro ibi (i.e. Camlan) mortaliter vulnerato, corpus eiusdem in insulam Avaloniam, quae nunc Glastonia dicitur, a nobili matrona quadam eiusque cognata et Morgani vocata, est delatum, quod postea defunctum in dicto coemeterio sacro, eadem procurante, sepultum fuit. Propter hoc enim fabulosi Britones et eorum cantores fingere solebant, quod dea quaedam phantastica, scilicet et Morgani dicta, corpus Arthuri in insulam detulit Avalloniam ad eius vulnera sanandum. Quae cum sanata fuerint, redibit rex fortis et potens, ad Britones regendum, ut dicunt, sicut solet; propter quod, ipsum expectant adhuc venturum sicut Iudaei Messiam suum, maiori etiam fatuitate et infelicitate simul ac infidelitate decepti.

De Principis Instructione, Dist. I (ed. Brewer, VIII, 128): —

Quae nunc autem Glastonia dicitur, antiquitus insula Avallonia dicebatur Unde et Morgani, nobilis matrona et partium illarum dominatrix atque patrona, necnon et Arthuro regi sanguine propinqua, post bellum de Kemelen Arthurem ad sanandum eiusdem vulnera in insulam quae nunc Glastonia dicitur deportavit.

³ See *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, note, pp. 417 ff.

⁴ See p. 40, note 2.

⁵ See *Arthurian Legend*, p. 331; cf. below, p. 40, note 2.

at Glastonbury.¹ At this stage of rationalization the part of the maiden who tended Arthur in Avalon is naturally transferred to a dignified kinswoman, who performed the last offices for the king. Even before the time of Giraldus and as early as that of Chrétien, Morgain had been made a sister of Arthur,² and this fact doubtless had its influence upon the sophisticated version that Giraldus records.

The results of the transference of the story to this world are to be traced in at least four of the later versions, (1) *La Mort Artus*,³ (2) *Malory*,⁴ (3) *Le Morte Arthur*,⁵ (4) *La Tavola Ritonda*.⁶

¹ It is not beyond possibility, although we have no direct evidence on the subject, that the tradition of Arthur's voyage in a fairy boat to Avalon united the more readily with the report of his burial in Glastonbury through the influence of legends that told of the mysterious rudderless ships, which without a pilot transported the bodies of saints to their place of burial, and thus revealed the divine preference of a certain spot for this honor. Cf. for the possible monastic influence upon the tradition of Arthur, Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, London, 1876, p. 414. See Usener, *Die Sintfluthsagen*, Bonn, 1899, p. 137; Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, p. 159.

² See p. 64.

³ Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 350 ff.

⁴ *Malory*, Bk. XXI, ch. 5, 6.

⁵ Ed. Furnivall, London and Cambridge, 1864, vv. 3500 ff.

⁶ Ch. cxliv.

In all of these sources the situation in the beginning is practically identical. Arthur has been mortally wounded in the battle of Salisbury; he orders Giflet in 1, Sir Bedivere in 2 and 3, a squire in 4, to leave him on the edge of a stream. The remainder of the account I quote below from the separate versions.

(1) Giflet s'éloigne lentement, non sans regarder derrière lui: il voit bientôt aborder une nef de laquelle descendent plusieurs belles dames vêtues de blanc, à leur tête Morgain la sœur d'Artus. Elles entourent le roi dont la faiblesse était extrême, et le transportent dans leur nacelle: puis au signal de la fée l'esquif s'éloigne rapidement et Giflet les perd de vue. Il regagna tristement la Noire Abbaye, où il acheva ses jours, après avoir vu les fées venir y déposer les tombes de Lucan et du roi Artus.

(2) "And whan they were at the water syde euyn fast by the banke houed a lytyl barge wyth many fayr ladyes in hit | & emonge hem al was a quene | and al they had blacke hoodes | and al they wepte and shryked when they sawe Kyng Arthur | Now put me in to the barge sayd the kyng and so he dyd softelye | And there receyued hym thre quenes wyth grete mornyng and soo they sette him down | and in one of their lappes kyng Arthur layed hys heed | and than that quene sayd a dere broder why haue ye taryed so longe from me | Alas this wounde on your heed hath caught ouermoche colde | And soo than they rowed from the londe | and syr Bedwere behelde all tho ladyes goo from hym." Bedivere cries in lamentation after the king, but Arthur bids him take comfort. "For I wyl in to the vale of auylyon to hele me of my greuous wounde. And yf thou here neuer more of me praye for my soule | but euer the quenes and ladyes wepte and shryched that hit was pyte to here." Sir Bedivere makes his way to a hermitage not far distant; he sees a new made grave in which the hermit tells him that a body is interred that was brought thither by some ladies the

In these sources¹ the two lines of tradition that Giraldus kept distinct are blended. Throughout Morgain is so far a fay that she comes in her magic ship to bear the hero away to a

night before. "Alas, sayd syr bedwere, that was my lord kyng Arthur that here lyeth buried in thys chapel Thus of Arthur I fynde neuer more wryton in bookes that ben auctorysed nor more of the veray certente of his deth herde I neuer redde | but thus was he ledde aweye in a shyppe wherein were thre quenes | that one was kyng Arthurs syster quene Morgan le fay | the other was the quene of North galys | the thyrd was the quene of the waste londes | Also there was Nynyus the chyef lady of the lake. . . . More of the deth of kyng Arthur coude I neuer fynde but that ladyes brought hym to his buryellys | & suche one was buried there that the hermyte bare wytnesse that somtyme was bysshop of caunterburye | but yet the heremyte knewe not in certayn that he was verayly the body of kyng Arthur."

(3) A rychè shyppe wyt^h maste And ore,
Full of ladyes there they fonde.
The ladyes, that were feyre and Free,
Curteysly the kyng gan they fonge,
And one, that bryghtest was of blee,
Wepyd sore, and handys wrange,
"Broder," she sayd, "wo ys me;
Fro lechyng hastow be to longe,
I wote that gretely greuyth me,
For thy paynès Ar full stronge."

Arthur speaks to Bedivere: —

"I wylle wende A lytelle stownde
In to the vale of Avelovne,
A whyle to hale me of my wounde."
Whan the shyppe from the land was broght,
Syr bedwere saw of hem no more.

He goes on the following day to a chapel, where he finds a new tomb in which he learns that ladies have buried a body on the preceding night. He is convinced that it is Arthur's tomb. (Cf. *King Arthur's Death*, Bp. Percy's *Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, London, 1867, I, 506–507:—

But he saw a barge from the land goe,
And hearde Ladyes houle and cry certainlye,
but whether the king was there or noe
he knew not certainlye.

Cf. *Parlement of the thre Ages*, vv. 510, 511. After Arthur's final battle he bids farewell to Gawain, who saw a boat

There-Inn was sir Arthure and othire of his ferys
And also Morgn la faye that myche couthe of sleghte.)

(4) E stando per un poco, ed ecco per lo mare venire una navicella, tutta coperta di bianco; e quando lo re la vidde, si disse allo scudiere: — Ora è venuta mia fine. — E la nave s'accostò allo re, e alquante braccia uscirono della nave che presono lo re Arth e visibile mente il misono nella nave, e portárollo via per mare. E lo scudiere, molto isbigottito, stette tanto quivi, quanto potè vedere la nave; eppoi si partì, e va contando la maraviglia. E tale conveniente, si crede che la fata Morgana venisse per arte in quella navicella, e portòllo via in una isoletta di mare; e quivi morì di sue ferite, e la fata il sopellì in quella isoletta.

¹ The relations of the versions numbered above 1, 2, 3 have been discussed by Sommer, *Malory*, III, 11, 265, 269.

land over seas; but the reaction of the sophisticated version upon the fairy theme brings incongruous features into the story. Hence, fays inter Arthur in the Noire Abbaye according to the *Mort Artus*¹; hence the statement in *Malory* that "ladyes brought hym to his buryellys," and hence, too, the story of the Italian version that the king died of his wounds and that Morgain buried him on an island.² Hence perhaps also in *Malory* comes the feature of the black-hooded queens who "wepte and shryked when they sawe Kyng Arthur."³

III

Having traced Lazamon's story back to the type which is its possible source, and forward in its later development,⁴ we are in a position to examine the account of Morgain and Arthur in Avalon, contained in the *Vita Merlini*.⁵ The words are put into the mouth of the bard Telgesinus.

Insula pomorum quae Fortunata vocatur,
 Ex re nomen habet, quia per se singula profert:
 Non opus est illi sulcantibus arva colonis,
 Omnis abest cultus nisi quem natura ministrat:
 Ultro foecundas segetes producit et uvas,
 Nataque poma suis praetonso germine silvis;
 Omnia gignit humus vice graminis ultro.redundans.
 Annis centenis aut ultra vivitur illic,
 Illic iura novem geniali lege sorores
 Dant his qui veniunt nostris ex partibus ad se:
 Quarum quae prior est fit doctior arte medendi;
 Exceditque suas forma praestante sorores;
 Morgen ei nomen, didicitque quid utilitatis
 Gramina cuncta ferant, ut languida corpora curet;
 Ars quoque nota sibi qua scit mutare figuram,
 Et resecare novis quasi Daedalus aera pennis;

¹ See Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 351, note 1.

² The Italian version introduces the mysterious arms undoubtedly under the influence of the immediately preceding incident telling of the arm that grasps Excalibur and draws it into the lake.

³ For another suggestion, see *Cuchullin Saga*, p. xxix.

⁴ There are three sources, beside those mentioned above, that treat of Arthur's stay with Morgain in Avalon, but add nothing materially to the Morgain tradition: — *Didot-Perceval*, I, 502; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 8238–8245; Garci-Ordóñez de Montalvo, *Las Sergas de Esplandian*, cap. 99.

⁵ Vv. 908–940. For the date and authorship of the poem, see above, p. 7, note 1.

Cum vult est Bristi, Carnoti, sive Papiæ,
 Cum vult in nostris ex aere labitur horis.
 Hancque mathematicam dicunt didicisse sorores,
 Moronoe, Mazoe, Gliten, Glitonia, Gliton,
 Tyronoe, Thiten, cithara notissima Thiten.
 Illuc, post bellum Camblani, vulnere laesum
 Duximus Arcturum, nos conducente Barintho,
 Aequora cui fuerant et coeli sidera nota.
 Hoc rectore ratis, cum principe venimus illuc,
 Et nos quo decuit Morgen suscepit honore,
 Inque suis thalamis posuit super aurea regem
 Stulta,¹ manuque sibi detexit vulnus honesta,
 Inspexitque diu; tandemque redire salutem
 Posse sibi dixit, si secum tempore longo
 Esset, et ipsius vellet medicamine fungi.
 Gaudentes igitur regem commisimus illi,
 Et dedimus ventis redeundo vela secundis.

In spite of the fact that this source antedates those that we have been examining, the story in *Lazamon's Brut* is clearly less removed from the original fairy theme. Different details and a different side of the situation are given here. The description of Morgain's home scarcely allows it to be classed with such an island as the Plain of Delight, and if it were not for an interpretation of the name *insula Avalloniae* as *insula pomorum*, recorded in the first quarter of the twelfth century by William of Malmesbury,² we might suppose that the author was vaguely placing Morgain in one of the *μακάρων νῆσοι* that are as old as Hesiod.³ For the island is surprisingly barren of many features characteristic of the Celtic other world. It is true that like fairyland, which is free from death, the *insula pomorum* is a place where life lasts for a delightfully indefinite

¹ Michel and Wright suggest *strata*. ² As cited below, p. 40, note 2.

³ Cf. *Sagen von Merlin*, p. 329; Meyer and Nutt, I, 236 ff. Lot (*Rom.*, XXVII, 1898, 560, note 5; cf. XXIV, 1895, 330; Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo*, Turin, 1892-93, I, 141, note 3) suggests a connection between the love-charm of throwing the apple, familiar in folk-lore, and the interpretation of *Avalon* as *insula pomorum*. That the apple symbolizes love or fruitfulness is a very ancient and tenacious superstition. (See B. O. Foster, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, X, Boston, 1899, 39-55). A natural conjecture is that the apple in Celtic story may have been known first as a love gift from the fay to entice the hero to her domain, and thence have come to be regarded as a common type of other-world fruit possessing magic qualities. The apple is particularly prominent in Celtic other-world stories, as is attested by many familiar examples.

period and where the inhabitants are women whose sway is complete.¹ In fairyland, however, the pleasures are sensuous in their quality:—splendid dwellings, gay colors, feasts where the viands gratify each hero's peculiar taste, the best of wine, sweet music, a marvellously beautiful woman.² The delights of the island where Morgain lives are those that are scattered by nature. For seven verses the author harps on one string—the amazing fertility of the untilled soil.

¹ See *Vita Merlini*, vv. 916, 917.

² In the course of the present study we shall meet many names applied to *faërie*—the *Ile Célle*, *Terre Lointaine*, *Forêt sans Retor*, *Val sans Retor*, *Ile d'Or*, *Chastel as Pucilles*; but none of these terms is used in a generic sense. The other world *par excellence* in the "matter of Britain" is Avalon,—*un isle qui mult est beals* (Marie de France, *Lanval*, v. 661). It is the only pure and simple other-world abode that Morgain is represented as having in the French romances. The longest descriptions of Avalon that we have are those from the *Vita Merlini*, the *Gesta Regum Britanniae* (see p. 45) and the *Bataille Loquifer*, which has doubtless influenced the description of Avalon in the Ogier material. (See pp. 79, 133-135.)

Avalon has received peculiar fame by being brought into connection with Arthur. For although the name is used in the broad sense of *faërie*, without special or individual associations (see *Le Couronnement de Louis*, ed. Langlois, Paris, 1888, vv. 1796, 1827, cf. *MS. C.*, v. 1598; *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. IX, ch. iv; Wace, *Brut*, v. 9516; *Lazamon*, *Brut*, v. 21,139; Marie de France, *Lanval*, v. 659; *Erec*, v. 1955; *Perceval*, v. 27,401; *Didot-Perceval*, I, 462; Couldrette, *Mellusine*, ed. Michel, Niort, 1854, vv. 4897, 4922, 4999; Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan u. Isolt*, ed. Massmann, Leipzig, 1843, v. 15,802; *Diu Crône*, v. 18,725; *Malory*, Bk. VII, ch. 26; cf. *Huth Merlin*, I, 213 ff., 223; *Malory*, Bk. II, ch. 1, 2; below, pp. 52, note 2, 151, note 2, 226, note, for mention of a fay, the Dame d'Avalon, who is simply a powerful enchantress, but not Morgain), the number of passages is comparatively small that do not mention it particularly as the place where Arthur sought healing for his wound received at Camlan (see above, pp. 25, 26, 35 ff.). Other passages occur in the romances that mention Avalon as a place of burial for Arthur and Guinevere. (See above, pp. 35 ff.; *Perceval*, I, 262, 270, 348; *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 220.) These are probably to be explained as an outcome of the identification of Glastonbury and Avalon, which dates back certainly to the time when William of Malmesbury wrote his *De Antiquitatibus Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* (ca. 1135). See Migne, CLXXIX, col. 1687; cf. *Morte Arthure*, ed. Brock, London, 1865; also ed. Perry, London, 1865 (E. E. T. S.), vv. 4309, 4310; *Arthur*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1864 (E. E. T. S.), vv. 612-614; *The Life of Joseph of Armathia* (*Joseph of Arimathie*, ed. Skeat, London, 1871, E. E. T. S., pp. 35 ff.), vv. 198, 199; Paris, *R. T. R.*, I, 88, 93, 98, 103.

This identification, as Zimmer (*Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XII, 1890, 245 ff.) and Lot (*Rom.*, XXIV, 1895, 329, 503; XXVII, 1898, 552, 553) have shown, may rest on false etymology, which led to the interpretation of the name as *insula vitrea*, *île de verre*, and hence to its association with the other world. (On the *île de verre* as a name for the other world, see Zimmer and Lot as above; Paris, *Rom.*, X, 1881, 490; Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Paris, 1889, II, 277, 278; *Lanzelet*, vv. 209-212;

Far more than it resembles fairyland this island resembles the Fortunate Isles. In fact the description of the Fortunate Isles given by Rabanus Maurus¹ so closely parallels that of the *Vita Merlini* that the first eight verses of our passage read almost like a versification of the account of Rabanus:—

Fortunatae insulae vocabulo suo significant omnia ferre bona, quasi felices et beatae fructuum ubertate. Suapte enim natura pretiosarum poma silvarum parturiunt fortuitis vitibus iuga collium vestiuntur, ad herbarum vicem messis et olus vulgo est. Unde gentilium error et saecularium carmina poetarum propter soli fecunditatem, easdem esse paradisum putaverunt.

It is not at all improbable that the poet's terms may have been influenced either directly or indirectly by Rabanus' words.² At all events it is clear that they are moulded by other than

Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, pp. 151–153; Grimm, *D. M.*, II, 685, note 1, cf. 698; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, London, 1866, p. 56; [Chaucer], *The Dream*, ed. Morris, London, 1891, Aldine edition, V, vv. 70 ff.; cf. Neilson, *Studies and Notes*, VI, 156, 157; Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, Oxford, 1897, pp. xiv, xv.) This identification probably occasioned the reputed discovery of Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury, mentioned above.

The origin of the name *Avalon* offers an obscure problem, a satisfactory solution of which has been unsuccessfully sought by Celticists during the past dozen years. For discussions of the subject the following articles should be consulted: Zimmer, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XII (1890), 238 ff.; F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 329, 330, 501–505; XXVII (1898), 529–573; Brugger, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XX (1898), 94–102. Cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Rev. Celt.*, VIII (1887), 139; Pütz, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XIV (1892), 169–170; San Marte, *Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 89 ff.; *Arthurian Legend*, p. 332; *Joseph of Arimathie*, ed. cit., pp. xxiii ff.

Further attempts to etymologize *Avalon* are found in *Didot-Perceval*, I, 450:—[*Avalon*] où li soleil avaloit; Hucher, *Le Saint Graal*, Paris, 1875, I, 330:—*Comme li monde . . . va en avalant covient il que toute ceste gent se retraie en occident* (see *Arthurian Legend*, p. 308; *Holy Grail*, p. 78; Birch-Hirschfeld, *Die Sage vom Gral*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 193).

Cf. *Le Morte Arthur*, ed. Furnivall, London and Cambridge, 1864, v. 3512:—*the vale of Aveloone*; *Roman du Saint-Graal* (Lonelich, *The History of the Holy Grail*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1861–63, I, App.), vv. 3123, 3221:—*vaus d' Avaron* (cf. Freymond, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XVII, 1895, 17, note 4); *Malory*, Bk. XXI, ch. 5:—*the vale of Avylyon*; Ranulph Higden (*Polychronicon*, V, apud Gale, I, 225):—[*Arturus*] *est in valle Avaloniae iuxta Glastoniam sepultus*. Freymond (l.c.) suggests that the association of Avalon with a valley is due to popular etymology. See Michel, *Floriant et Florete*, p. lxxv, note 67:—“Avalon, on which much was said, without noticing that the name of it was derived from French *aval* (below), as to mean that the fairy city was in the subterranean world.”

¹ Migne, CXI, *De Universo*, xii, 5.

² For the influence of Rabanus cf. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1880, II, 120 ff.

Celtic models,¹ from whatever source the tradition that he is embodying may be derived.

Furthermore it is to be noted that the *insula pomorum* is one in a list of islands of the sea treated individually by Telgesinus in a discourse on the wonders of nature,² and that this section of the *Vita Merlini* containing as it does a description of island after island³ is similar in its general scheme to the *imrama* literature, especially, as Ferdinand Lot has observed,⁴ to such an account as the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*. In the *terra repromissionis* to which the voyage of St. Brandan led him, and with which the *insula Fortunatorum* was identified,⁵ there prevailed the same luxuriant vegetation that is the chief characteristic of the *insula pomorum quae fortunata vocatur*.⁶ The Latin account of St. Brandan's voyage, which is placed by Zimmer not before the middle of the eleventh century,⁷ had, as is well known, an abiding influence on mediaeval thought,⁸ and we need feel no hesitation in believing that it was familiar to a man of the training and associations that the author of the *Vita Merlini* had doubtless enjoyed. According to Zimmer, Irish secular tradition had influenced the conception of the *terra*

¹ The *Vita Merlini* also echoes some of the accounts of the Terrestrial Paradise which are common in the Latin literature of the middle ages. For a collection of such descriptions see Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni*, I, 197 ff. According to a tradition recorded in the fourteenth-century romance of *Ogier le Danois*, Avalon and the Terrestrial Paradise are neighboring lands (cited by Graf, p. 121, from the manuscript of the Arsenal of Paris 2985, p. 632; see p. 74).

² Vv. 737 ff.; cf. *Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 328, 329.

³ Vv. 855 ff.

⁴ *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV (1899-1900), 534.

⁵ See Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, pp. 10, 11, with notes; cf. Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercuri*, VI, v. 702.

⁶ See C. Schröder, *Sanct Brandan*, Erlangen, 1871, pp. 4, 35; cf. *Holy Grail*, p. 264.

⁷ *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889), 306; Ward (II, 519) places it in its present form not much before the year 1000.

⁸ Cf. *Roman de Renart*, ed. Méon, Paris, 1826, II, vv. 12,149 ff.

Je fot savoir bon lai Breton

.
. de saint Brandan.

Gautier de Metz, *L'Image du Monde*, cited by Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni*, I, p. 108.

L'Ille Perdue.

Celle ille trouva sains Brandains,
Qui mainte merveille vit ains.

repromissionis as it is portrayed in the *Navigatio*; ¹ and it is not strange if the obverse of the situation is true, and the features of another mysterious island are in the *Vita Merlini* attributed to Avalon. A learned poet would naturally turn to the conceptions already expressed in Latin prose or verse, when he was describing the distant island to which Arthur was taken for healing, rather than to those usually stirred by the thought of Avalon as the abode of fays.

If the author knew the story of the fairy messengers and boat that took Arthur to Avalon, he chose to disregard them and to make the king's guide to the distant island, Barinthus.² Also, whereas the other versions which are giving an account of Arthur's final battle do not carry the narrative to Avalon, in this case where the interest to the author centres in the island that he is describing, the scene of importance naturally lies there. Moreover, just as extraneous influences are evidently at work in the description of the island, so Morgain herself is not strictly speaking a pure other-world fay. She is beautiful, has the power of shape-shifting, and understands the healing art, all of which attributes belong directly to her fairy kind; but of the true other-world fay it could not be said that she had learned mathematics, i.e., astrology.³ There are early accounts of islands off the coast of Gaul, which offer in many respects a parallel to the Celtic Isle of Women.⁴ The most apposite here is that given by Pomponius Mela in his *De Situ Orbis* ⁵:—

Sena in Britannicomari, Osismicis adversa litoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est: cuius antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctae, numero novem esse traduntur: Gallicenas vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus praeditas, maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque in quae velint animalia

¹ *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII, 144 ff.; see also Schröder, p. xi.

² See Brown, *Rev. Celt.*, XXII (1901), 339 ff., for material showing that Barinthus or Barri (cf. Zimmer, *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXXII, 160), who acts in both the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* and the *Vita Merlini* as a guide to the other world, was originally a Celtic sea-deity, serving properly as an other-world messenger. Thus his part in the original Arthur-Avalon episode would equate with that of Fand's messengers to Cuchulinn in the *Serglige Conchulaind*.

³ See p. 165, note 1.

⁴ Strabo (p. 198) gives Posidonius' report of such an island near the mouth of the Loire, inhabited by women, whom he calls the Namnites, priestesses of Dionysus: οὐκ ἐπιβαίνειν δὲ ἄνδρα τῆς νήσου, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας αὐτὰς πλεούσας κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάλιν ἐπανίεναι.

⁵ Bk. III, ch. 6.

vertere, sanare, quae apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et praedicare : sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum, ut se consulerent profectis.¹

Whatever source Mela was using, we may trace through his words the existence of a long-standing tradition that may have influenced Geoffrey when he wrote the *Vita Merlini*.² What would be a more natural process than for an author, when his mind was turning toward distant islands of the sea, to attribute to the fay of Avalon certain characteristics of the supernatural women who he may have heard were also the inhabitants of

¹ Cf. Vopiscus (apud Peter, *Script. Hist. Aug.*, Leipzig, 1884), *Aurelianus*, 44 : — *Dicebat enim quodam tempore Aurelianus Gallicanas consuluisse Dryadas sciscitantem utrum apud eius posteros imperium permaneret.*

Salomon Reinach (*Acad. des Inscr. et de Belles Lettres*, Jan. 1897, 33; *Rev. Celt.*, XVIII, 1897, 1 ff.) maintains that Mela's account has no historic weight, and that it is due to an identification of Sena (i.e. Ouessant or the Isle de Sein) with Circe's island during the Roman period, when the opposite coast was believed to be the spot where Ulysses had addressed the shades. See *Rev. Celt.*, IX (1888), 279; X (1889), 352; Elton, *Origins of English History*, London, 1890, pp. 24 ff.; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, 331, note 1.

² Cf. Maury, p. 44; Rhys, *Celt. Folklore*, 330, 331; and Meyer and Nutt, II, 147–149. According to Mela there were nine priestesses of Sena, and though nine is a number too sacred to superstition (cf. Stokes and Windisch, IV, i, 342, Index of Things, s.v. *nine*; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 202, 214, 239, 257; *Mabinogion*, I, 323; *Bran*, §§ 32, 62; Bugge-Schofield, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 266) for us to build upon this feature which is common to the two accounts, it is noteworthy, in consideration of the other resemblances, that Morgain is never made one of nine sisters except in the *Vita Merlini*. The necessity of naming her eight sisters is apparently embarrassing to the poet; he economizes by ringing three changes on one name, — *Gliten*, *Glitonea*, *Gliton*, and his ingenuity deserts him completely before he reaches the eighth. Where he found their names has never been determined (see Lot, *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV, 533, note 3), though two of them are suggestive of possible originals. *Thiten* is suspiciously close to *Thetis*; and we know that even so late as the composition of *Der jüngere Titurel* the silver-footed goddess of the sea survived as a lady of magic power, who serves as a gauge for the accomplishments in necromantic art of Accedille, Uterpendragon's sister.

Weder tetis noch sibille waren
niht so richer kunst in wane.

(Albrecht von Scharfenberg, *Der jüngere Titurel*, ed. Hahn, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1842, st. 2433.)

With *Thetis* as a possible basis for this name we can scarcely refrain from the conjecture that *Gliten* may be the distortion of the name of another sea-maiden, the unhappy nymph Clytie, the daughter of Oceanus, whose history our learned poet must have known through his Ovid (*Met.* IV, vv. 256 ff.). If these guesses do hit the truth, the nominative in *en* may be attributed to the influence of the form *Morgen*.

islands about which he had no definite information? We may readily see, therefore, even though we have no direct source for the tradition in the *Vita Merlini*, how such a version as it contains might under recognizable influences have been evolved from the earlier fairy conception.¹

Beside the passage from the *Vita Merlini* there should be placed some verses from the *Gesta Regum Britanniae*.²

Cingitur oceano memorabilis insula, nullis
Desolata bonis: non fur, non predo nec hostis
Insidiatur ibi; nec fix, non bruma nec estas

¹ Hartmann von Aue in his *Erec* (vv. 5132-5241), instead of following Chrétien by simply mentioning Morgain's *antret* that healed Erec (see pp. 259, 260), describes at length a fairy plaster that the queen binds upon Erec's wounds, which she had received from Fâmurgân, the king's sister; and he follows this description with as long an account of Morgain as has come down to us (vv. 5156-5241), not excepting that contained in the *Vulgate Merlin* (see p. 151). Hartmann is certainly relying on some material extraneous to his main source (see Bartsch in Pfeiffer's *Germania*, VII, 1862, 165; Gruhn, *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XLIII, 1899, 298, 299; *Erec*, pp. xvii, xviii). His information about Morgain, although it presents similarities to the description in the *Vita Merlini*, sets forth the accomplishments of a true mediaeval sorceress, such as those, for example, described in the thirteenth-century romance of *Amadas et Ydoine* (ed. Hippeau, Paris, 1863, vv. 2007 ff.; cf. *Cligès*, vv. 3002 ff.).

With Hartmann's comparison of Morgain to those beings who can restore the dead to life, cf. the sorceresses who practice the same art by means of a touch or a balsam, *Mabinogion*, I, 342; *Perceval*, VI, 185; *Malory*, Bk. VII, ch. 22, 23; Campbell, II, 463-465; III, 289; Campbell, *The Fians*, London, 1891, p. 247.

We may easily believe that a tradition started by the *Vita Merlini* survived and reached Hartmann in a form to which there had been already added, or to which there was added by him, an unattached account of a sorceress. Some three quarters of a century later in the *Prophecies* (p. xcvi) we come across another tradition of Morgain in which she appears in a part that recalls Hartmann's words. Here she is summoned to a contest of skill in magic by the Dame d'Avalon. She calls a legion of devils to her, changes half of them to dragons and half to birds, and commands them to carry the Dame d'Avalon through the air to a certain tower. Reading in her book of enchantment (cf. *Gervasius of Tilbury*, ed. Liebrecht, p. 50, with note p. 160; Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 83; Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la H. Bretagne*, I, 300-304), she herself advances toward the castle of her intended victim, by whom she is regarded as a formidable rival (cf. p. 52, note 2).

This is the only episode of just this kind connected with Morgain that is preserved to us. She is referred to by Malory as a "sorceresse and wytche" (Bk. VIII, ch. 3), and a tradition, which looks like a survival of the early conception of Morgain as a sorceress, is repeated by Reiffenberg:—"Dans certains villages, la plupart des vieilles mendiantees passent pour de vulgaires descendantes des Canidies et des Morgan" (*Chevalier au Cygne*, ed. Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1846, I, lxxxix).

² For the date and authorship of the poem see above, p. 28, note 6.

Immoderata furit ; pax et concordia perpes,
 Ver tepet eternum. Nec flos nec lilia desunt,
 Nec rosa nec viole ; flores et poma sub una
 Fronde gerit pomus ; habitant sine labe pudoris
 Semper ibi iuvenis cum virgine. Nulla senectus
 Nullaque vis morbi, nullus dolor ; omnia plena
 Leticie ; proprium nichil hic, communia queque.

Regia virgo locis et rebus presidet istis,
 Virginibus stipata suis pulcherrima pulchris
 Nimpha, decens vultu, generosis patribus orta,
 Consilio pollens, medicine nobilis arte.
 Que, simul Arturus regni diadema reliquit
 Substituitque sibi regem, se transtulit illic
 Anno quingeno quadragenoque secundo
 Post incarnatum sine patris semine Verbum.
 Immodice lesus Arturus tendit ad aulam
 Regis Avallonis, ubi virgo regia vulnus
 Illius tractans, sanati membra reservat
 Ipsa sibi ; vivuntque simul, si credere fas est.

The resemblance of this kingdom of Avallo¹ to the Celtic other world has been pointed out by Lot² and by Nutt,³ though what has been said above about the description of Morgain's island in the *Vita Merlini* is also true here, and it is evident that the learned author has probably been influenced by certain Latin models that dealt with other-world abodes of a non-Celtic origin, such for example as Lactantius pictured the home of the Phoenix to be : —⁴

non huc exsanguis morbi, non aegra senectus,
 nec mors crudelis, nec metus asper adit,
 nec scelus infandum, nec opum vesana cupido,
 aut Mars, aut ardens caedis amore furor :
 luctus acerbis abest, et egestas obsita pannis,
 et curae insomnes, et violenta fames.
 non ibi tempestas, nec vis furit horrida venti.
 nec gelido terram rore pruina tegit

hic genus arboreum procero stipite surgens
 non lapsura solo mitia poma gerit.

¹ On Avallo cf. *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 330, 504 ; XXVII (1898), 553 ff.

² *Rom.*, XXVII, 557 ff.

³ Meyer and Nutt, I, 237.

⁴ Lactantius, *De Phoenice*, in *Poetae Latini Minores*, ed. Lemaire, Paris, 1824-26, II, 349 ff., vv. 15-22, 29, 30.

The *Gesta Regum Britanniae* is the only source except the *Vita Merlini* that places the scene in Avalon, and dwells on Arthur's experiences there rather than on his summons to the other world. In spite, however, of the resemblances between the *Vita Merlini* and the *Gesta Regum Britanniae*, there is sufficient difference in the form of the story to exclude the idea that the author of the latter is borrowing directly from the former. The *regia virgo* possesses no qualities that do not belong to the true other-world fay, and she is more nearly allied to the beguiling fairy mistress of Celtic stories, who retains with her the hero whom she has favored with her help, than to the Morgain of the *insula pomorum*. Clearly the thirteenth-century poem stands nearer to original conceptions than does the *Vita Merlini*, and the relation of the two versions is apparently that of two accounts using a common tradition, which in the *Vita Merlini* is more contaminated than in the later poem.

IV

For the sake of clearness, then, we may gather together the results of the preceding discussion :—

1. In the story of Cuchulinn and Fand there is found a prototype which, if it became attached to Arthur's name, accounts for the two developments that appear in romance describing his stay in the other world.

2. One development of this story—the Avalon episode—is uniformly attached to Morgain's name. In this episode a characteristic of the Morrigan as the guardian of her hero is seen in Morgain.

3. The other development of this story which was discussed in the last chapter—the enchantress type—is not attached to Morgain's name. Here there is a distinct reminder of the part played by the Morrigan in the story of her love rejected by Cuchulinn and her ensuing efforts to destroy him.

4. In another episode attached to Morgain's name, that of the fight with Accalon, which also was examined in the last chapter, Arthur is taken to her domains by the same means as in the Avalon story. The conclusion of this episode is identical with that of the enchantress type.

These facts are explainable by the view that Morgain was the fairy queen of the original story from which there sprang two developments, in both of which traces of the Morrigan are to be detected. Thus Morgain's two-fold attitude toward Arthur is explained, and the ground for her feud with him as it appears in the romances made clear.¹ It is also evident that there are points of contact between the traditions of the Morrigan and important parts of the Morgain saga.

¹ The remaining episodes of importance in which Morgain is connected with Arthur are simply variations on the theme of her rancor against him, and are more appropriately treated below.

CHAPTER IV

MORGAIN'S RETENTION OF RENOART, LANCELOT, AND ALISANDER L'ORPHELIN

I

RENOART

THE conclusions drawn in the last chapter receive indirect support from other episodes. The story that we may believe was told of Morgain and Arthur in Avalon is told of Morgain and three other mortals. In none of the versions is there uncontaminated early material, and in fact none of them in and for itself is particularly valuable. They afford an excellent illustration of the transformations that rationalism effected even when employed on material so remote from real life in its setting as that which is contained in the early Celtic fairy-mistress tales. In probably the latest version, that of *Alisander l'Orphelin*, the theme is plainly not derived from any of the extant sources, but in many of its features it stands nearer than they to our hypothetical original. In the *Bataille Loquifer*, the earliest chronologically, Morgain herself is more clearly pure fay than in any of the other developments. Here she is the love of Renoart, a warrior who figures in the epic cycle of *Guillaume d'Orange*; but in this case the epic material comes justly by its Breton coloring. The author of the *Bataille Loquifer*, Jendeus de Brie, there is good reason to believe lived in Sicily where, as Zimmer and Graf¹ have shown, there is a probability that Norman influences had by the early part of the twelfth century diffused Breton story.

The hero Renoart has lost his son Maillefer. Exhausted with weeping, he sleeps by the sea. There come flying toward him three fays, who congratulate themselves on finding so hardy a warrior, and plan to carry him off to Avalon, where he shall dwell in happiness all his days with Arthur

¹ Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Ans.*, 1890, p. 830, note 2; Graf, *Giorn. Stor.*, V (1885), 81 ff.; cf. Paris, *Rom.*, V (1876), 110.

and other heroes. One fay declares that because of Renoart's prowess she intends to preempt him for her *ami*; one of her companions, piqued, resolves to do him harm. They lift the sleeping Renoart, ask God's blessing, change his club and his hauberk into birds, his helmet into a harper, and his sword into a lad; then they bear Renoart himself away to Avalon *par grant enchantoison*. Here we learn that the three fays are Morgain, her sister Marrion,¹ and an attendant. Fays come forth from Avalon in a procession to meet the hero, and sing with marvellous sweetness. When Renoart hears the noise, he wakes from his sleep, seizes his club, calls upon the Virgin, and succeeds in alarming the fays. Arthur greets him, and points out to him first the heroes who have come from this world to Avalon: —

Et cele bele au vis enluminé
Icele est Morgue ou tant a de biauté.²

Her beauty at once arouses Renoart's passion, and he craves her love,³ but after a few days of delight with her, he is eager to go in search of Maillefer. Instantly Morgain's anger is stirred by this slight put upon her love. In revenge she induces Kapalu, a youth in whose convoy Renoart leaves Avalon, to sink the vessel in which Renoart sails; but the hero is rescued from a watery grave by sirens who lull him to sleep and carry him ashore. When he awakes he remembers his wife Aalis, and repents of his escapades in Avalon.

Morgain here is purely an other-world fay, gifted with a primitive magic power, amorous, supreme, brooking no rival. She loves the hero for his valor. She transports him in a sleep by enchantment to Avalon. He yields at once to her beauty and forgets home and its ties while he is under her spell. When he wishes to leave her, her anger is roused and she resolves on his destruction. When Renoart gives up all thought of her, he remembers his wife. Finally, this is clearly an episode in which there are combined many essentials of the Cuchulinn and Fand story, and also the rancorous nature of the Morrigan, all attached to Morgain's name. In one other early source, namely in *Aliscans*, Renoart winds up a jingling list of his brethren with *Morgans li faés*: —

¹ I find no trace of this fay elsewhere, unless she is to be connected with Morgain's sister *Moronoe* in the *Vita Merlini*; see p. 44, note 2.

² Michel (*La chanson de Roland*, Paris, 1837, p. 209) cites the above passage after another manuscript, the date of which he does not give, which speaks of Morgain as Arthur's sister.

³ Morgain afterward bears a child to Renoart, Corbon, *un vif diable, qui ne fist se mal non*. With this feature of the story cf. pp. 61, 77.

Et s'est mes freres Iembus et Persaugués
Et Clariaus, et Quarrius, et Outrés,
Et Malatrous, et Malars, et Maurés,
Et Miraidiaus, et Morgans li faés,
Ki plus est noirs ke aremens triblés.¹

We have not sufficient ground for asserting what is the real significance of the passage; it may be simply the result of a confusion of names that turns a fairy love of Renoart into a man, his brother.² So far as we know, there is no inherent cause for the connection between Renoart and Morgain. The most palpable reason for it is that a narrator, desiring to extend Renoart's history by making it include a sojourn in Avalon where Arthur and other famous heroes dwell, applied to him the love theme already connected with Morgain, the mistress of Avalon. It is only fair to the mediaeval story-tellers to remember that, though they had but little originality, they doubtless had preferences even as we, and that if a narrator wished to expand his material he probably would turn first to some story that struck his fancy as a pretty or a thrilling bit to fasten to his hero. Probably the attaching of this episode to Renoart's name is due mainly to the individual taste of some combiner.

II

LANCELOT

If we turn now to a later source, the prose *Lancelot*, we find the same theme related of the hero there.³

Lancelot lies sleeping beneath an apple-tree. The queen of Soresan, Morgain la fée, and Sebile *l'enchanteresse* come riding past in state. Morgain, though she is not attended with so much pomp as the queen of Soresan, is apparently the leading spirit of the trio. Their eyes are keen enough to espy the sleeping knight, and when they detect his beauty, each desires him for her love, and disputes her chances with the others. At Morgain's suggestion they cast him into an enchanted sleep, and have him

¹ *Aliscans*, ed. Guessard, Paris, 1870, vv. 4392-4396. See p. xvi for the date (ca. 1180); see also Gautier, *Ép. Fr.*, IV, 468, note 1.

² It seems more probable, however, that by some confusion Renoart's "cousin," Margot de Bocident, is really referred to here. See the variants for *Margot* cited in Rolin's *Aliscans* (Leipzig, 1894), v. 4716, *Morgaus*, *Morgans*.

³ *Lancelot*, ed. 1513, summarized by Sommer, *Malory*, III, 179; Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 303; *Lancelot*, vv. 13,635 ff.; *Malory*, Bk. VI, ch. 3, 4.

carried on a litter to the Château de la Charrette which belongs to the queen of Sorestan (in *Malory*, to Morgain). There they confine him in a strong and beautiful chamber, where he wakes from the spell. In the morning they bid him choose one of them for his love, or remain a prisoner. Lancelot without embarrassment or gallantry declines to obey. In a rage they leave him. He makes his escape through the agency of a damsel of the castle.

It requires but little analysis to show that this incident and that of the *Bataille Loquifer* are developments of a common theme. Renoart and Lancelot both sleep,¹ spent with grief and toil. The fays come flying toward Renoart, riding past Lancelot. They are three in number, except in *Malory*, where four are mentioned, Morgain, the queen of Northgalys, the queen of Eastland, and the queen of Oute Isles.² The fays

¹ There is danger from fays in sleeping under certain trees, among them, naturally, the apple-tree. See Child, *Ballads*, I, 340, 350; IV, 456; Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 326; Kittredge, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, VII (1886), 190.

² Two of Morgain's companions in this adventure deserve a passing notice. The French sources for the episode say that Morgain, Sebile, and the queen of Sorestan are the three women, who, with the exception of the Dame du Lac, knew more about enchantment than all others in the world, and therefore they loved each other and rode all day in company. As a matter of fact, a more distinguished trio in the romances is formed by Morgain, Sebile l'enchanteresse, and the Reine de Norgalles. The most elaborate episode in which all three play a part is in *Prophecies*, p. xcv. The Dame d'Avalon has been presented with three enchanted rings, and tests their virtue upon Sebile l'enchanteresse and the Reine de Norgalles. Despite their best endeavors, they are outdone by the rings, and the Dame d'Avalon affably says that if she can enchant these ladies, she certainly can enchant Morgain. When Morgain arrives she proves herself a more troublesome subject than the others, but eventually succumbs to the power of the rings. A joyful meeting takes place between the four choice spirits, and if the Dame du Lac had been present, the narrator adds, all the subtlety of the world would have been represented there. The gifted ladies start off in search of Merlin. The interest of the incident lies in its differentiating Morgain and the Dame d'Avalon, and in its showing Morgain as superior to the other fays.

A Reine de Norgalles, perhaps not the fay, is mentioned in the romances; see e.g. Löseth, pp. 189, 269, § 631 a, pp. 483, 491; *Malory*, Bk. XXI, ch. 6; for the fay see pp. 36, note 6, 58, 99. We have not enough information about her to guess at her origin, but may note that Annowre is a sorceress of Norgalles (see p. 21).

Sebile has no individual history in the romances that we can trace. She is named among the fays *qui tiennent grant contrei* at the cradle of Brunehaut, the daughter of Judas Macabé in *Auberon*, v. 405; but as a rule she is merely a shadow of Morgain. See Löseth, pp. 189, 217, 483, 490, 491; *Esclarmonde*, v. 3209; below, pp. 58, 226, note, 253. There is little question that she is descended from the Sibyl. Antoine de la Sale in *La Salade* (Bk. IV, ed. Söderhjelm, *Antoine de la Sale et la Légende de Tannhäuser*, in *Mém. de la Soc. néo-phil. à Helsingfors*, II) repeats a popular legend that he had learned in a visit to the Mont de la

love Renoart for his valor, Lancelot for his beauty. Morgain claims Renoart's love, and thus piques her sister; the fays contend for Lancelot's love. Both mortals are taken in an enchanted sleep to the fay's dwelling. The refusal of her love in both cases arouses her rage.

In the prose romance the other-world situation has become thoroughly sophisticated. The fays are queens of great estate; a silken canopy carried by four knights protects the queen of Sorestan from the sun; Lancelot is transported in a magic

Sibylle, one of the peaks of the Apennines near Norcia. In this mountain there is a cave, in which he who entered had to encounter a mighty blast of wind, cross a bridge one foot wide that spanned a brawling torrent and was guarded at one end by two dragons, and also pass through two metal doors that swung back and forth unceasingly, before he came to a large crystal door which led into a beautiful castle. Here the queen Sibylle dwelt, presiding over a true fairyland of perpetual youth, riches, and pleasure, where food to each man's taste was provided for him, and where heat, cold, and the flight of time were unknown. A knight from Germany was admitted within the crystal door, and entered upon a life of other-world delight. But he discovered that every Friday at midnight the queen and her maidens were transformed into serpents, and after nearly a year, coming to the conclusion that he was in the power of the devil, he departed for Rome to seek pardon from the Pope. The Holy Father, to make an example of him, drove him from his presence, but resolved to grant him absolution later. In despair the penitent went back to *la reine Sibylle*, and has never been heard of again.

The legend is of course familiar from the story of Tannhäuser, but stands in *La Salade* a little nearer the true Celtic form, in that the knight returns to fairyland forever. Thus, although the Holy Father's reputation is saved by his intention to pardon the repentant sinner, the story itself adheres to the original type.

The connection between the Sibyl and the queen Sibylle is shown more clearly by Andrea da Barberino, who in *Guerino il Meschino* (see ed. of Venice, 1816, IV, cap. 134; V) tells substantially the same story, evidently derived from a common source with the legend reported by Antoine de la Sale. In *Guerino* the fay is *Alcina la Incantatrice*, but she is identified in conception and description with the Cumean Sibyl (see IV, cap. 134; V, cap. 149), and Guerino seeks her, even dwells with her, solely for the purpose of gaining hidden knowledge, and of discovering from her the story of his own parentage. She refuses to give him the coveted information, and after a year he leaves her. The Pope grants him pardon for his sin.

The two sources supplement each other, Antoine's representing purer Celtic material, Andrea's preserving more distinctly the Sibylline character of the fay, which would never suggest itself to us from Antoine's account, were it not for the queen's name. Both sources show tendencies that are often displayed in mediaeval fairy lore — the scanty precision of legend when it deals with supernatural beings, and the merging of Celtic and classical tradition in popular story (cf. pp. 235 ff., 275 ff.). For discussions of the legend of the Mont de la Sibylle, see Paris, *Revue de Paris*, VI (1897), 763 ff.; Reumont, *Del Monte di Venere (Discorso letto alla Soc. Colombaria fiorentina il dì 25 maggio 1871)*; Neilson, *Studies and Notes*, VI, 133-135.

sleep, it is true, but by prosaic means, to his prison. The dwelling is not even said to be across a stream,¹ and Avalon has become a simple castle of this world. The fays do not know who the hero is, and Morgain fails to recognize him — farewell to romance — *por ce qu'il ot esté touzés (tondu) novelment*.² The fairy retention has become a serious imprisonment behind iron bars; the hero's escape can no longer be accomplished by the permission of the fay coupled with an injunction, but the figure of the releasing maiden common in the epic who rescues the hero from Saracen captors is introduced into the poem as a *deus ex machina*.

A working out of the same theme with a still greater corruption of the early features appears in that part of the prose *Lancelot* which is called the *Livre d'Agravain*.³

Morgain sends out twelve maidens in search of Lancelot, one of whom by the promise of an adventure entices him to Morgain's castle. Here a magic potion puts him to sleep, a magic powder which Morgain blows into his nostrils keeps him in ignorance of his whereabouts. Morgain loves him for his beauty, and keeps him prisoner, hoping to win his love (*veintre le cuidoit par ennui*). But he refuses all her entreaties, and in the spring by the sight of a rose is filled with such longing for the queen that he breaks the bars of his prison and escapes,⁴ leaving for his would-be love the message that Lancelot du Lac greets the most disloyal woman in the world.

It was doubtless late when the theme that we are examining here was attached to Lancelot. There is no trace in early material of Morgain's love for him, and never the slightest indication that he was sensible to her charms; usually her schemes against him are the outcome of her already deeply rooted hostility toward the queen. For this there was in the early story the same cause that existed for the contest between Fand and Emer, and when we study the episode of Morgain and Guiomar, we shall see what excellent reason there is to believe that it has a place in comparatively early Morgain material. As soon as it became impossible by tradition for Morgain to entice the queen's husband from her, she naturally would be represented as endeavoring to entice the queen's devoted lover from her. In other words, the elements of the

¹ Cf. p. 16.

² Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 304.

³ Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 315.

⁴ Cf. *Conte de la Charrette*, vv. 4615-4656; Löseth, § 190.

early story are kept, though disguised, and the hero is changed. Properly Morgain's relations to Guinevere have produced this essentially late development which reverts to the original story.

III

ALISANDER L'ORPHELIN

We learn the history of Alisander l'Orphelin through four sources :—a manuscript of the prose *Tristan*,¹ the *Suite de Palamède*,² the *Prophécies de Merlin*,³ and *Malory*.⁴ Alisander is a fearless young hero of Cornwall, who “hadde neuer grace ne fortune to come to Kynge Arthurs court.”⁵ Morgain plays an important part in his career, which in general outline belongs to the same type as that of Tyolet, Meriadeuc, Bel Inconnu, and Perceval.⁶ The versions are substantially alike in the parts recounting his experiences with her :—

It chanches that a maiden tells Morgain of Alisander's valor and beauty, and assures her that if she can win control over him, she may count herself

¹ Löseth, §§ 282 b, 360, note 2.

² Id., pp. 481–483.

³ *MS. Addington 25434 and Harleian MS. 1629*, published by Sommer, *Malory*, III, 294 ff.

⁴ Bk. X, ch. 32–40. See also *Prophécies*, p. xlv.

⁵ *Malory*, Bk. X, ch. 40.

⁶ The following summary gives the outline of Alisander's career :—

King Mark of Cornwall, actuated by jealousy, secretly murders his brother. The widow, Anglediz, taking her infant son, Alisander, whom Mark believes dead, flees from the Cornish court to a castle held for her by a faithful chaste-lain. Here she brings up the boy in retirement and in complete ignorance of the circumstances of his father's death. On the day when the lad is knighted, she shows him his father's blood-stained garments, and tells him the history of the murder. Alisander at once sets out for Logres to put himself under the tutelage of Lancelot, and thus prepare for taking vengeance upon King Mark. He passes through a variety of typical adventures, the most important of which is that with Morgain (see the summary given below). While he is defending the site of Bele Garde, Aylles la Belle Pelerine hears of the adventure that he offers, and vows to give her hand to his conqueror. Since Alisander is invincible and she is beautiful, the matter ends by their marrying each other. After the required term for his defence of the site of Bele Garde is completed, according to Löseth's summary, Alisander is about to prosecute his plans against King Mark, when he is killed by Helyas le Roux; according to Malory, he is treacherously murdered by Mark, and his death is avenged by his son, Bellengere le Beuse.

Variations in the sources, and vague references in the *Palamède* to adventures *comme vous orrez cy apres* suggest that the history of Alisander formed a rather

happy. Mark, who is Alisander's enemy, in the meanwhile hears of his prowess, and resolves that he must die. He asks Morgain's aid against him, but although she promises the king her assistance, she determines to get Alisander into her own power. She wastes no time, and sets forth at once to a castle not far distant where she has heard that he has been victor at a tourney. The maiden of the castle is detaining him with her, that he may take the field against Malagrin (in *Malory*, Malgrin) le felon, an unwelcome suitor, and the reward of his victory is to be her hand. Morgain resolves to prevent the marriage.

She reaches the castle in time to watch a fearful battle between Alisander and Malagrin, which ends for Malagrin with the loss of his head and for Alisander with sixteen great wounds. Morgain sees her chance, and offers to heal Alisander's wounds. When she bandages them she applies an irritating salve, which causes him a night of such torture that in the morning, chastened by suffering, he gladly promises to do all her will provided she will heal him. Instantly she applies a healing ointment that puts him out of pain. In the course of his recovery she forbids him to wed the maiden, and Alisander accordingly bestows her in marriage upon another knight. During the wedding festivities Morgain leads Alisander apart and bids him come to a pavilion of hers, where he will be free from the noise and mirth

lengthy independent narrative, and was sufficiently popular to be embodied in a variety of versions. Indications abound that Alisander's history is modelled on the Perceval type, notably the following parallels:— (a) The death of Alisander's father, the flight of his mother, and his own upbringing. Cf. Löseth, §§ 302, 308, 312, 313; *Sir Perceval of Galles*, ed. Halliwell, *The Thornton Romances*, London, 1844, I, 1 ff., st. i-xi; *Carduino*, a poem influenced by the tradition that we know through Löseth, §§ 302, 308, 312, 313; see also Schofield, *Studies and Notes*, IV, 183 ff. (b) The faithful chastelain who aids Alisander's mother. Cf. *Perceval*, vv. 70 ff. (c) The name *mon orfelin*, *mon petit orfelin*, by which Alisander's mother speaks of him. Cf. *Bel fil*, *Beau Valet*, the names by which the heroes of the Perceval type of story are called; cf. also the name *Riche Orfelin* given to Lancelot in the abode of the Dame du Lac (Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 27; see below, p. 186). (d) Alisander's appearance before Palamedes, who when he hears of the young hero's valor summons him to his dwelling. Cf. the *début* of the unknown youth before Arthur in the earlier versions; see especially *Bel Inconnu*, vv. 96-100; *Li Chevaliers as deus Espees*, ed. Foerster, Halle, 1877, vv. 1506 ff.; *Perceval*, v. 2169. Note especially Alisander's refusal to reveal his name, his betrayal of his life of seclusion by an admission that he has never seen Tristan, his peculiarities of bearing for which his Cornish origin is said to account. Cf. the inability of the heroes in the above sources to tell their names, also their lack of the conventional graces, for which their forest rearing is usually held responsible. (e) Löseth, §§ 314, 629. Cf. id., p. 482. (f) Id., § 313. Cf. *Perceval*, vv. 5588-5909. (g) Alisander's refusal to marry the lady whom he rescues. Cf. *Li Chevaliers as deus Espees*, ed. cit., vv. 5878 ff.; *Bel Inconnu*, vv. 3374 ff. Note the name of the maiden's unwelcome suitor, Malagrin (Malgrin) le felon. Cf. *Bel Inconnu*, v. 2171.

With Malory's description of the scene in which Alisander learns of his father's murder (Bk. X, ch. 34), which is not paralleled in the Perceval type, cf. Marie de France, *Yonec*, vv. 531-546.

of the castle. She takes him to a litter before the door, gives him a draught of drugged wine, and within three days brings him safely to Bele Garde (in *Malory*, La Beale Regard), a former castle of her mother's. Here she completes his cure, but he grumbles at his confinement. One of Morgain's maidens promises for his love to betray the castle by night to her uncle who will destroy it by fire; thus Alisander shall be freed. Alisander vows that if she will carry out her purpose he will defend the site for two years. The maiden is as good as her word; Alisander is released, and proceeds with his defence of the site of Bele Garde. The maiden sends word to Morgain of the destruction of the castle, and Morgain disappears from the story enraged at the tidings of her loss.

The story of Alisander is instructive here not because of its inherent interest, but because of three points that it serves to illustrate. In the first place, it points to that stage in the Morgain saga, of which we have seen indications in Chapter III; in the second place, it shows distinctly the perversions of an early theme in late hands; and in the third place, it is an aid in explaining the variations of Morgain's character in the romances. Let us see what her part in Alisander's life is. Her desire to bring the young knight to her castle is stirred by hearing of his beauty and valor. She sends out her messengers in search of him, and to "make assurance double sure," she herself mounts her palfrey and rides out in his path. She exerts her power over Alisander by her promises of healing and rest. She interferes with his love for the mortal maiden who should rightfully have been his bride. She keeps him in her castle in a confinement which he finds irksome and desires to leave for his accustomed life. In other words, Morgain's part here on analysis shows the same features that we have seen doubtless appeared originally in the Arthur-Avalon episode. Once again the *medicamen* that we first met in the *Vita Merlini* in the *insula pomorum* is found in Morgain's hands. This is still another repetition of the story of Fand and Cuchulinn.

Here, however, we have to do with sadly rationalized material. Morgain's promises of healing concern literal cuts and gashes. She does not send a fairy debility upon the knight that leads him to realize her power, but she irritates his wounds with a baneful salve, and then holds out promises of relief.¹ There is no benumbing of his senses by the intangible

¹ For a similar situation cf. Child, *Ballads*, I, 372, 387 ff.; Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 327.

influences of the other world, but a draught of drugged wine puts Alisander to sleep. Morgain conveys him to her castle, not by a fairy boat, but an ordinary litter. She herself is an enchantress with much of her other-world brilliancy obscured by the appliances of this world. When her maiden tells her of the gallant young Cornish knight, she excuses herself to the Queen of Norgales and Sebile l'enchanteresse, who are waiting to talk with her, leaves her castle and all her possessions at their disposal for a month, and rides off in search of Alisander. She receives a letter from King Mark asking her to help him in his plot against Alisander, and at once sends a polite message to the king assuring him that she will aid and abet him. She rests in her pavilion by the way, entertains passing knights at supper, and extracts from them the information about Alisander that she desires. Her part has been subjected to prosaic influences; but her *rôle* here confirms the probability that the Cuchulinn-Fand story was at one time told of her, and that her name was connected with it before it was developed into the two types discussed above in Chapters II and III.

But why is this story, which is a true Morgain episode, attached to the name of Alisander? Properly, after defeating Malagrin the young knight should wed the lady and live as her defender. Alisander, however, does not maintain a "custom" at her castle, but appoints himself the voluntary defender of the site of Bele Garde for two years after it has been destroyed. This extraordinary proceeding on his part is evidently a working out of the theme which has been interrupted by the episode with Morgain. The situation in the story offered by her advent is similar to that in *Rigomer*.¹ Gawain after having destroyed the enchantment of the castle Rigomer, and released its mistress, Dionise, is called upon to wed her. His fairy love, Lorie, appears with a stupendous suite, and throws a wet blanket on the hopes of Dionise by claiming Gawain as her own property. He appeases Dionise by promising to find her a worthy husband in the course of a year. The story of Alisander is based in the main on a line of incidents unconnected with the Morgain saga. The narrator undoubtedly introduced the episode with Morgain into his history not merely because it would

¹ *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 91.

redound to Alisander's glory to be beloved by the greatest of fays, but because when he had made his hero receive sixteen dire wounds in battle, the famous story of Morgain's fairy healing supplied him admirably with additional material.

The Alisander story throws light upon apparent variations in Morgain's character. Rhys¹ makes a distinction which cannot be proved to exist. The romances, he says, "spoke of a lake lady Morgain, Morgan, or Morgue. The character varied: Morgain le Fay was a designing and wicked person; but Morgan was also the name of a well-disposed lady of the same fairy kind, who took Arthur away to be healed at her home in the Isle of Avallon." The fay who takes Arthur away to be healed in Avalon is the same fay who forms designs against Alisander. The story that we are examining in both cases, when told of Fand, does not show those attributes in the fay's nature that are prominent in Morgain. The Morrigan's character is to be detected in Morgain in the early material which lies behind the episode of Arthur in Avalon as we know it, and the same is true of those elements in Morgain in the later sources that allow us to characterize her as cruel and designing; for the nature of the war-goddess was slow to die even when its representative had been by tradition most nearly merged into the proud, unscrupulous lady of a mediaeval castle.

¹ *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 374.

CHAPTER V

MORGAIN AND GUIOMAR¹

WITH the original situation outlined in the preceding chapters before us, Morgain's relations to Guinevere acquire a special significance. If Emer's interference with Fand's love is reproduced in the history of Guinevere and Morgain, it will be so much the more evident that there was a story told of Arthur in faërie which was parallel to that of Cuchulinn's experiences in Mag Mell.

It is certainly true that if Morgain is hostile to Arthur, still more so, if possible, is she to the queen.

La roine . . . ne l'amoit mie moult, pour chou que elle n'avoit onques veut bien en li.²

Celui que ele deust plus amer que tout le monde fist ele plus grant anui et si grant blasme dont on parla puis tous les jours de sa vie. che fu de la gentiex genieure si comme li contes le vous deuisera cha auant comment et por quoi.³

There is no episode in the romances in which Morgain appears on friendly terms with the queen, except that discussed in this chapter, at the beginning of which she is represented as a lady in waiting on Guinevere. The stories in which her hostility is most in evidence are those of her love for Guiomar, of the *Cor enchanté* and the *Manteau mal taillé*, and of her designs upon Lancelot. Her hatred is attributed to the queen's interference with her early love for Guiomar, to her jealousy of Lancelot's love for the queen, and to the affront that she received from the queen, who omitted her from the guests invited to a feast at court. She manifests her hatred according

¹ This is the form of the name used by Paris throughout *R. T. R.*, II. Freymond gives it as occurring once in the *Livre d'Artus*, P., where in all other instances the form is Guionmar(z); see Freymond, *Livre d'Artus*, P., 13, note 1. Guiamor(s) is the form appearing in the *Lancelot*.

² *Huth Merlin*, II, 219.

³ *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 361. Cf. *English Merlin*, p. 508; Löseth, § 41; *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, v. 2460.

to the *Livre d'Artus, P.* by creating the Val sanz Retor; according to other sources by employing various devices to shake Lancelot's love for the queen, and by making untiring efforts to betray it to the king.¹

Among the episodes that bring Morgain into connection with the queen, there is one that follows in natural sequence those that we have just been studying. This is the tale of Morgain's love for the gallant young knight, Guiomar. There came to Erec's wedding feast, Chrétien tells us, together with many other noble counts and lords, Guigomar,²

De l'Isle d'Avalon fu sire.
De cestui avons oï dire
Qu'il fu amis Morgain la fee,
Et ce fu veritez provee.³

But we do not meet an episode bringing Morgain and Guiomar together before the *Lancelot*,⁴ and here we have a full account of the course of love between them.

Morgain is Arthur's half-sister, lady in waiting upon Guinevere. She cherishes a secret passion for Guiamor de Camelide, a fair and valiant knight, the nephew of Arthur. One day they have a quarrel, and thus attract the queen's attention. She succeeds in surprising them together, and wishing to turn Morgain from folly, and to avert shame from the lovers and from Arthur, she warns Guiamor that his life is in danger, if Arthur learns of his love for Morgain. He readily renounces the maiden, but she, seeing that he has deserted her for love of the queen, is greatly distressed. Knowing that Merlin can aid her, she goes in search of him, and since he loves her, he teaches her many enchantments. By Guiamor Morgain has a son who becomes a knight of great prowess. Thus begins Morgain's hatred of the queen.

Paris in his summary omits two details, — the name of the lover who is simply said to be a cousin of the queen, and the mention of Morgain's child.

¹ The individual cases are discussed below; see also Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 339; Löseth, §§ 265, 611.

² This is the spelling adopted by Foerster in his edition of 1896; for variants see his edition of 1890.

³ *Erec*, vv. 1955-1958.

⁴ II, lxxi; *R. T. R.*, IV, 292, 293. See also *ib.*, 293, note, for a probable confusion that entered into the story.

A different version is found in four other sources, the *Vulgate Merlin*,¹ the *English Merlin*,² the summary of *Le Roi Artus* by Paris,³ and the *Livre d'Artus, P.*⁴

A brilliant assembly is being held at Arthur's court. The guests separate and go to rest, but Guiomar, the queen's nephew, lingers behind the others with Morgain, Arthur's beautiful sister, who is sitting at her embroidery. Guiomar talks with the maiden on many themes as he winds her thread of gold ; soon he sues for her love, and easily induces her to smile upon him, and in the end to grant him all his will. For a long time their relations are undiscovered, but at length the queen learns the true state of affairs, and separates them. Morgain, therefore, hates her, and works her harm.

In the *Livre d'Artus, P.*, this part of the story is given in a condensed form, but a continuation is added :

Morgain has recourse in her trouble to Merlin, who loves her and teaches her his art completely. With the skill derived from him she founds the Val sanz Retor as a means of revenge upon the queen, and for the sake of having Guiomar in her power. After her departure from court Arthur seeks her everywhere. Guinevere extracts from Guiomar an oath that he knows nothing of her whereabouts. He, however, is eager for further tidings of her.

A comparison of the versions shows three noteworthy differences among them : —

1. In the *Lancelot* there are three significant variations from the other sources : —

(a) Morgain is not beautiful.

(b) It is implied that Guiomar loves the queen, although this is not the reason given for her separation of the lovers.

(c) Morgain and Guiomar have a son.

2. The *Vulgate Merlin* and the *Roi Artus* differ from the *Lancelot* in three important particulars : —

(a) They contain an introduction, i.e., the embroidery scene.

(b) They contain a lengthy description of Morgain's personal characteristics.

(c) They do not contain the sequel, Morgain's flight to Merlin.

3. The *Livre d'Artus, P.* differs from the other versions in the mention of Morgain's founding of the Val sanz Retor as the result of her anger and love.

¹ Pp. 361, 362.

² Pp. 507-509.

³ *R. T. R.*, II, 269-271.

⁴ Pp. 13, 14 ; §§ 47, 100-105.

The differences between the *Lancelot* and the versions represented by the *Vulgate Merlin*, and also their agreement in the outline of the story, point to the use of common material coming perhaps through more than one intermediary, rather than to interdependence. The same relation of the *Lancelot* to the versions of the other class is indicated here that will be seen more clearly below in the episode of Merlin and Niniane.¹ There an introduction containing a long account of an exhibition of magic power given by Merlin before Niniane is an evident addition to the main story, which the author obviously was deriving in large part from the same source as that of the *Lancelot*. So here in the *Lancelot*, Morgain is said to be *laide*, also *chaude et luxurieuse*; the *Vulgate Merlin* reads: *moult estoit brune di vis . . . chaude et luxurieuse*; but her beauties and accomplishments receive an amplification a page long.² We have no direct source for this passage, which contains the most complete description of Morgain that has come down to us. The author of a mediaeval romance was lavish in detail when he seriously set out to describe his heroine's charms,³ and although this description mentions traditional traits of Morgain and is not so purely conventional that it has no value in the Morgain material, its presence here may be attributed to the writer's personal bent and not to his source. The embroidery scene also may be regarded as a narrative flourish on his part, for which we need not insist that he necessarily resorted to a definite written or narrated source.

Leaving then, for the present, the features which are evidently not integral parts of the theme, we see that in its essentials, particularly as they are given in the *Lancelot*, the story is that of the secret love between the fay and a young knight, with which the queen interferes. The knight deserts the fay through the queen's influence, towards whom in consequence the fay cherishes an abiding hatred.

¹ See pp. 213 ff.

² For this description see below, p. 151, note 1.

³ Cf. *Erec*, vv. 402-441; *Cligès*, vv. 785-845; *Bel Inconnu*, vv. 1511-1537; 2196-2236; Wirnt von Gravenberg, *Wigalois*, ed. Pfeiffer, *Dichtungen des deutschen Mittelalters*, VI, Leipzig, 1847, vv. 723-948; *Die Crône*, vv. 8128-8317; Gibert de Montreuil, *Roman de la Violette*, ed. Michel, Paris, 1834, pp. 45-50.

Shall we regard this story of Morgain's first love as a working-over of some early other-world adventure in which *Guigomar, sire d'Avalon*,¹ whom the *Erec* mentions, figured as Morgain's *ami*? Before examining other sources, we may recall certain features of the early story of Arthur in fairyland that were developed in the last chapter. In the *Cuchulinn-Fand* episode, which we saw was transferred to Arthur and a fay who in all probability was Morgain, there are contained the same elements that reappear in the account of Guiomar and Morgain. The fay loves the knight, the queen breaks in upon an assignation of the lovers, she demands their separation and her entreaties move the hero to compliance, the fay in indignation leaves them. In other words, essentially the same story was attached, not only to Arthur and Morgain, but also to Guiomar and Morgain, of whom it was told at some time anterior to 1168, about which date Chrétien probably wrote his *Erec*.²

There is scarcely room for doubt that Morgain la fée, the love of Guigomar, was identified in Chrétien's mind with Morgue, the sister of Arthur, whom he mentions in another passage in the *Erec*.³ Ferdinand Lot questions such an identification on Chrétien's part. "C'est ce qu'on ne peut affirmer et il paraît impossible d'établir avec certitude à quelle source il a puisé."⁴ Chrétien knows Morgue as the concocter of all-potent balms, and speaks of her as Morgue, the sister of Arthur, and also as Morgue la sage.

[Li rois] fet aporer un antret
Que Morgue sa suer avoit fet.⁵

Car d'un oignement me sovient
Que me dona Morgue la sage.⁶

He certainly is referring to the same being in these two passages, and inasmuch as in the *Huon de Bordeaux*⁷ and the *Jus Adan*⁸ unquestionably the fay, and nobody else, is designated as Morgue la sage, there is ground for believing that Chrétien means one and the same personage, when he speaks of Morgain

¹ On the identity of the names *Guihomar* and *Guigomar*, see Zimmer, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII (1891), 7 ff.

² See p. 7, note 1, no. 2.

³ Vv. 4218 ff.

⁴ *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 328.

⁵ *Erec*, vv. 4218, 4219.

⁶ *Yvain*, vv. 2952-2955.

⁷ See below, p. 124.

⁸ P. 77.

la fée, Morgue la sage and Morgue, the sister of Arthur. His words, then, show that before 1168 approximately Morgain was known as Arthur's sister, and that the original love adventure therefore could no longer be related of them. If the story was to be told of Morgain, the hero had to be changed. As soon as it is clear that the episode of Morgain and Guiomar is simply the original episode of Morgain and Arthur with a new hero, we understand why the sources say that it relates the beginning of the fay's hostility toward the queen. The hint in the *Lancelot*, which otherwise seems strange, that Guiomar left Morgain for love of the queen, is also explained, as well as Guiomar's future ignorance of Morgain's fate.

Further evidence that this substitution may have taken place is afforded in the lay of *Guigemar* by Marie de France,¹ in which the name of the hero resembles *Guiomar* sufficiently² to leave us no ground for surprise that the same story should be attached to each. The lay is a composite production, which, in spite of the seemingly incongruous elements that it contains, throws a more abiding glamor about the hero than the story of the prose romances bestows on Guiomar.

Guigemar, son of Oridial, lord of Liün, is in the service of King Hoilas of Bretagne. He shows himself valiant in war, knightly in temper, and wins universal affection.

He is beloved by women, but to the distress of his friends cares for none of them. One day in the course of a stag-hunt, as he chances to linger behind the rest of the company, he espies a doe with her fawn in a thicket near by and draws his bow against her. The dart wounds her, but instantly rebounds and wounds him in turn. The doe cries out that he has killed her.

E tu, vassal, ki m'as nafree,
tels seit la tue destinee :
ja mais n'aies tu medecine !
Ne par herbe ne par racine,

¹ Marie de France, pp. 5-40.

² For the view that *Guigemar* and *Guigomar* (*Guyomar*) are the same name see Zimmer, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII (1891), 9, 11 : — "Diesem bretonischen *Guihomar* des XII Jahrhunderts entspricht offenbar das französische *Guigomar* (woraus *Guigamor*, *Guingamor*), *Guigemar* . . . Ursprüngliche Form des Namens war ohne Zweifel *Guigomar*, *Guigemar* ; es ist heutiges *Guyomar*." Guiomar's name survives to-day among the saints of Brittany, and a parish of Morbihan is named after him, Saint Guyomard. For his story see Sébillot, *Petite Légende Dorée*, p. 188.

ne par mire ne par poisun
 n'avras tu ja mes guarisun
 de la plaie qu'as en la quisse,
 des i que cele te guarisse,
 ki sufferra pur tue amur
 si grant peine e si grant dolur,
 qu'unkes femme tant ne suffri;
 e tu referas tant pur li.¹

Guigemar determines without delay to seek the land where he shall find healing. He rides through the forest till he comes in sight of the sea, where he espies a beautiful ship anchored in a harbor. He goes aboard and discovers that he has no companions on the vessel. The ship, without a pilot, leaves the shore and bears Guigemar swiftly out on the high sea to the port where his wound is destined to be healed. The lord of the city is an old man who is jealous of his young wife's beauty, and has confined her in a tower surrounded by a high wall except on the side toward the sea. To her tower Guigemar's ship carries him. When the lady hears his story she offers him her hospitality until he shall be healed, and at once proceeds to tend his bleeding wound. Love grows apace between them, and the result is that for a year and a half Guigemar dwells in secrecy with her. One unhappy day her husband surprises them together, and forthwith orders Guigemar to put out to sea in the magic vessel. The ship takes him safely to his native land, and afterwards when at last the fair lady is able to escape from her tower, she finds the same magic vessel waiting in the harbor to bear her to Bretagne. Here she and her lover by means of other adventures are reunited.

These adventures are quite irrelevant to our purpose here ; it is with the induction and Guigemar's stay with his love that we are concerned. The former belongs to the same class as those of which we have already had examples, in which the fay by means of a fairy messenger and boat transfers the hero to the place where she desires his presence. The resemblance between this induction and certain features of the *Partonopeus* has been pointed out,² but a comparison of the lay and the romance shows one important difference between the situation in *Guigemar* and in the typical episode of its class.³ The

¹ Vv. 107-118.

² See Hertz, *Uebersetzung der Lais de Marie de France*, Stuttgart, 1862, p. 250; *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, p. 354; Kölbing, *Germanistische Studien*, III, 109; Marie de France, pp. lxxviii ff.

³ For an Italian representative of the material that we have in the induction of *Guigemar*, see Poliziano, *La Giostra* (ed. Carducci, *Le Stanse, l'Orfeo, e le Rime di Poliziano*, Florence, 1863), I, st. 8-65; cf. Flamini, *Rassegna Bibliografica*, IX (1901), 16.

prophetic doe and the magic bark are attributed to no definite source, and the lady, who like Melior should be the motive force for all the later incidents, is as ignorant of their meaning and is taken as completely unawares by their occurrence as the hero himself. By analogy with a familiar class of tales in which a maiden, bespelled into the form of an animal by a jealous husband or relative, wanders in the woods waiting until the destined hero effects her release,¹ the wounded doe should be the fay herself transformed, released from spells by the hero whom she eventually rewards with her love.² The variation on the original episode, allowing the dart that proves fatal to the fay to wound the hero as well, is undoubtedly due to the sentimental psychology of Marie's time, and afforded an acceptable opportunity to the poetess, familiar with the ways of the Anglo-Norman court, to dwell on the serious effect of the shaft of love.

Mes amurs l'ot feru al vif ;
ja ert sis quers en grant estrif,
kar la dame l'a si nafré,
tut a sun païs ublié.
De sa plaie nul mal ne sent ;
mult suspire anguissusement.³

The purely mortal *dénouement* is evidently also the result of the rationalizing tendency by which fairy incidents are frequently transformed, and which led the author of Marie's original⁴ to add to his other-world material a common theme, according to which a young wife imprisoned in a tower by a jealous husband was visited by a gallant lover, from whom she was rudely separated by her husband.⁵

¹ See Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, ch. I, II, III, IX, for examples and discussion of this theme. For an Italian representative of it see *La Fabula del Pistello de l'Agliata*, ed. Arlia, Bologna, 1878.

² See Hertz, *Marie de France*, p. 250 ; Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, Paris, 1820, I, 73 ; cf. Doncieux, *Mélusine*, VII (1894-1895), 97-104.

³ Vv. 379-384 ; cf. vv. 483, 484, 503, 504.

⁴ For Marie's slender claim to originality in combination see Bédier, *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1891, p. 857 ; *Lays of Graelent*, etc., pp. 174, 175.

⁵ See Marie's lay, *Yonec*. In this incident *Guigemar* is related to the eighth story of Herbert's *Dolopathos* (ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, Paris, 1856, vv. 10,324-11,218). Here the hero is a Roman senator's son, who learned in philosophy, handsome, and rich despises the love of women. Tormented by entreaties of friends who beg him to marry, he orders stone-carvers to make for

The induction brings us back once more to the story of Cuchulinn and Fand, for it contains the essentials of the earlier Celtic induction—the effort of the hero to wound a druidic animal, the other-world messenger and her promise that he shall find healing with his love, the fairy boat,—elements which we have seen were doubtless repeated in a story that was told of Morgain and Arthur. These features do not appear in the story of Morgain and Guiomar, but they belong, as I have just said, to a Celtic tale of the same type, and have a place in the narrative that is told of Guigemar. Thus the histories of Guiomar and Guigemar are complementary to each other, and give us reason to assume that they have as a common antecedent a story similar to that of Cuchulinn and Fand, and of Arthur and Morgain, in which Guiomar was later substituted for Arthur. If this be true, it is evident that the

him the stone image of a beautiful woman, and vows that only she who is the living counterpart of the statue shall be his bride. Some friends tell him of a beautiful lady in Greece who meets the conditions, and who is imprisoned by her jealous husband in a tower by the sea. The reluctant and sceptical wooer sails to the lady's tower, finds that she is the most beautiful creature in the world, and after a brief conversation avows his passion for her. For a long time he visits her secretly, and at length succeeds in carrying her off with him to Rome. This story is not contained in the Latin work of Johannes de Alta Silva (ed. H. Oesterley, Strassburg and London, 1873), of which Herbert's *Dolopathos* is a translation with amplifications. The harmony, however, between Herbert's style here and in those parts of the poem where he is undoubtedly translating from Johannes de Alta Silva has led Paris (*Rom.*, II (1873), 499 ff.) to the conclusion that he was working from a later text of the latter than that which has come down to us, and that in this text the incident was embodied. The date of the *Dolopathos* is placed not long after that of Johannes de Alta Silva's own work (1184–1212; see *Dolopathos*, pp. xii, xix), and we may therefore feel assured that from whatever source Herbert directly derived his eighth story, there was told in France in the latter part of the twelfth century a tale that we evidently know through both Marie and Herbert, recounting how a noble youth, who despised love, after sailing across the sea found imprisoned in a tower by her jealous husband a fair lady, whose love he secretly won and long enjoyed.

Certain resemblances in phraseology, idea, and structure occur in *Guigemar* and kindred parts of the *Dolopathos*, which, it is true, are not so far from commonplace that their significance is to be insisted upon; but which are easily explainable as the outgrowth of an ultimate common source. See the following:—

<i>Guigemar</i> , vv. 43, 44	<i>Dolopathos</i> , vv. 10,325–26
“ vv. 57, 58	“ vv. 10,330–31
“ vv. 211, 212	“ vv. 10,408–9
“ vv. 306–315	“ vv. 10,532–42
“ vv. 337–352	“ vv. 10,505–28.

adventure of the induction to the lay is that which properly belongs with Guigemar's name, and is responsible for the fact that the remaining themes of the lay are connected with him.

Why, if Arthur's part in the early story is to be transferred to another hero, should the lot fall upon Guiomar? The prose romances supply us with no explanation; they contain apart from our story only scattered allusions to Guiomar, all of which represent him as among the favored and gallant knights of Arthur.¹ To answer our question we must in the first place recall the experiences of the hero, Guingamor, celebrated in Breton lays. His name Zimmer² regards as a development of *Guigomar*. The change of the termination *-omar* to *-amor*, *-amuer*, Zimmer explains as the result of a confusion between *-omar* and the common Breton termination *-mor*, *-mer*, *-muer*, which means *great*; and the *Guin-* for *Gui-* in the first member as developed by analogy with the many Breton names in which *Guin-*, *Guen-* forms the first syllable.³ This merely indicates that the forms *Guingamor*, *Guingamuer* are transparent, and even if not connected phonologically with *Guigomar* might by popular usage easily arise from it. Let us see if in the stories connected with Guingamor we find an identity with the history of Guiomar and Morgain.

The lay that bears the name of Guingamor tells how this valiant young knight of Bretagne, who cared naught for love, in the course of a perilous boar-hunt met a beguiling fay, who took him away to her beautiful castle and banished from his mind all thought of time and the world. After three hundred brief years, she let him return to earth on condition that he taste no food while there. But his mortal cravings tempted him beyond his strength, he disobeyed his fairy mistress, and immediately became a feeble, shrivelled old man. She forgave him, however, and sent her messengers to bring him back across the water to fairyland.

¹ See Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 187, 190, 243, 250; *Livre d'Artus*, P., p. 13, §§ 39, 47, 171-175; *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 252; cf. *Arthour and Merlin*, vv. 9670, 9713.

² *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII, 7 ff. Zimmer derives the name *Guigomar* from an old Breton name *Wiuhomarch*. He cites the *Annales of Eginhard* for mention of a *Wihomarchus Britonum dux*, who in 822/25 was at war with Louis the Pious, and also gives documentary evidence that this name existed in Redon as early as 854/60.

³ For names with the double forms *Gui-*, *Guin-* cf. *Guigamor*, *Guingamor*; *Guiganmuer*, *Guinganmuer*; *Guigambresil*, *Guingambresil*.

From Gaucher de Dourdan's continuation of the *Perceval* we learn of another and slightly different version of the story.¹ Here we are told of the death of a certain Brangemuer, king of the isles of the sea.

Guinganmer l'engenra
En une fée qu'il trova.
Bien avés oï aconter
Coment il caça le sangler
Et com ma dame le retint;
Bien avés oï qu'il devint;
C'est la roïne Brangepart.²

We see from these passages that the story of Guingamor and his fairy mistress was a familiar theme at the time of Gaucher, and formed undoubtedly the subject of more than one independent narrative³; at least two versions of the story must have existed, that of the lay of *Guingamor* and that of the source that Gaucher has in mind. Moreover, Sir Gringamore⁴ also appears as an other-world character in the seventh book of *Malory*, where as in *Erec* he is said to dwell in the Isle of Avilion,⁵ and is provided with two fairy sisters, Linet and Dame Liones.

Thus there is certain indication that by the time when the material of the prose romances was put into shape, there was a connection established in story between the name *Guingamor* and fairyland. This fact in itself offers the solution of which we are in search. Zimmer,⁶ who leaves out of consideration the Guiomar of the prose romances, as well as Sir Gringamore, says that the same theme is associated with Guingamor and Guigemar; Freymond⁷ advances the view that the Guiomar of the prose romances is identical with the Guingamor of the lays, and that the prose versions recounting his experiences

¹ Vv. 21,859 ff. See Schofield, *Studies and Notes*, IV, 242.

² Vv. 21,859-21,865.

³ See Schofield, l. c., 241.

⁴ For the forms *Guingamor*, *Gringamore*, and other examples of proper names in which a similar *r* appears, see *Lays of Graellent*, etc., p. 143, note 2.

⁵ Ch. 23.

⁶ *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII (1891), 8, 10.

⁷ *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII, 19. For an excellent *résumé* of the material treating of Guingamor, see Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, pp. 382-384; cf. Marie de France, pp. lxxvii ff.

with Morgain contain a saga known from several "Breton" lays, *Guigemar*, *Guingamor*, *Graelent*, and *Lanval*. But analysis appears to show that although the stories of Guiomar and Guigemar may represent two developments of one original, and although the heroes may bear the same name, they can be classed only in their broad outlines with the story of Guingamor, and really contain elements that place them in a different category among themes dealing with a fairy mistress. The names *Guingamor* and *Guigomar* (*Guiomar*), whether they be the same in origin or not, are sufficiently alike to be easily confused; and when the part of Arthur in the early theme had to be attached to another name, the lot could fall to few more suitably than to *Gui(g)omar*, which closely resembled *Guingamor*, the name of the well-known hero of an other-world adventure. Furthermore, elements that are found in stories of the Guingamor type would naturally in the course of time creep into the story of Guiomar and Morgain, — a condition that would not arise if the reverse of the course that I have suggested were the case, and the hero of the lay of *Guingamor* were named from Morgain's lover. As a matter of fact, most of the features in the tale of Morgain and Guiomar that are foreign to our supposed original are explained when we see that they may have entered the story from the influence of the Guingamor type.

In the *Lancelot* Guiamor is the nephew of Arthur; Guingamor is the nephew of the king of Bretagne. In the *Lancelot* also the story runs that Morgain becomes the mother of a child by Guiamor; Guingamor and the fay Brangepart have a son. Guingamor is denominated by Chrétien *sire de l'isle Avalon*, even as Sir Gringamore is said by Malory to dwell at the Isle of Avilion. Gaucher says of Brangemuer, the child of Brangepart and Guinganmer,

Rois fu des illes de la mer ;
En une des illes estoit
Ù nus autres hom n'abitoit,
De cele contrée estoit rois.¹

The isles over which Brangemuer was king were doubtless the possessions of the fairy princess, his mother.² Hither

¹ *Perceval*, vv. 21,876–21,879.

² See Zimmer, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII, 8.

Guingamor had returned from earth, and the natural inference is that he, before his son, was thought of as lord of the other-world island where his loved one dwelt. Hence Guigomar is fittingly made lord of Morgain's home, Avalon.

Ferdinand Lot in commenting on the similarity of the adventures recounted in the lays of *Graelent* and *Guingamor* concludes :— " Le lai de *Gugemer* (par Marie) ne présente aucun rapport avec le précédent [*Graelent*]. Il n'en est pas de même de celui de *Guingamor*. . . . Ici encore¹ la 'pucelle' qui entraîne le héros dans un autre monde n'est pas nommée, non plus que dans le lai analogue de *Lanval*, où apparaît cependant Avalon. . . . N'est-ce pas singulier, cet anonymat constant de la fée, et ne peut-on pas soupçonner Chrétien de l'avoir dénommée de sa propre autorité? "² " Remarquons, à l'appui de notre opinion, que dans la suite du *Perceval*, par Gaucher de Dourdan, v. 21,873, le nom de l'amie de Guingamor n'est pas Morgain mais 'la roïne Brangepart.' "³ But if we have not gone astray in analyzing the material, we can understand why *Guigemar* should have no distinct connection in story with the cycle to which *Guingamor* belongs, and also that there is no reason to suspect Chrétien of having named the love of Guigomar on his own authority. Back of his passing allusion to Guigomar there must have lain a more elaborate story that had already passed through more than one stage in its growth.

The course of development that the story doubtless had may be briefly traced. A fairy-mistress theme was attached by a narrator to the name *Guingamor* and won popularity. When the time was ripe to transfer to another hero Arthur's part in the account of his stay with Morgain in fairyland, a name similar to *Guingamor*, if not the same name, was that chosen for the knight. The induction to this episode was fittingly attached to a mortal theme by the author of a lay, and the hero named *Guigemar*. Elements of the *Guingamor* type of narrative entered with the similar name, and explain Chrétien's reference, the allusions in *Malory*, and certain features in the French prose romances. The story was rationalized and

¹ *Graelent's* fairy love is nameless.

² *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 327.

³ *Ib.*, 328, note.

changed in scene to Arthur's court, and in this way assumed the form that we know in the prose romances in the episode of Morgain and Guiomar. Thus Morgain's part remains the same throughout, Arthur's name is dropped from the story, Guiomar, owing to the traditions already associated with a name similar to his, is substituted for it, and therefore his name or one resembling it appears in romance regularly in connection with fairyland and an other-world love, but with two distinct branches of the fairy-mistress theme attached to it.¹

The story of Guiomar, accordingly, is an admirable example of the methods in which romantic material was treated by narrators. Just as the same acanthus whose tendrils adorn the rim of a cup is to be traced also in the design of a Corinthian capital, so in popular tradition a single theme may assume manifold forms and be varied according to its environment.

¹ So excellent an illustration of the situation in general is furnished by the development of the Lycurgus legend in Greece that it is perhaps pardonable to cite here material that is so foreign to our own. In Laconia there is evidence that a temple was dedicated to Athena Ophthalmitis by Lycurgus, who had lost his eye at the hands of a certain person shown to be of chthonic origin. In Arcadia we find a Lycurgus, the brother of a priestess of Athena Alea who is allied to Athena Ophthalmitis. In Thrace the legend tells of a Lycurgus who lost his eye as a punishment from Zeus or Dionysus in a contest with the latter, in Thrace a chthonic divinity. In Delphi, Dionysus, a chthonic god, is at strife with Apollo, in whose cult the wolf (λύκος) appears; the summit of Parnassus is known as Lykoreia, and the Delphic Apollo himself is designated as Λυκωρεύς, Λυκώρειος. In Argos there is connected with the cult of Apollo Lykios the legend of a contest between a wolf and a bull, in which the wolf is victorious — a legend in which there is evidence that the wolf represents Apollo Lykios, and the bull, Dionysus. Not to cite further instances, these already given show that the Lycurgus legend was diffused throughout Greece in various forms connected almost invariably with a strife between a chthonic power and another hero or god with whom Lycurgus is associated, sometimes only through an appellation connected with the same name. (For these facts see Sam Wide, *Bemerkungen zu der spartanischen Lykurgoslegende*, Upsala, 1891.) In other words similar legends are associated with the same or similar names.

CHAPTER VI

MORGAIN AND OGIER LE DANOIS

Morgue l'amie Ogier

(*Brun de la Montaigne*, v. 3399)

THE unknown author of the fourteenth-century romance, *Brun de la Montaigne*, mentions Arthur's cousin

c'on dit Morgue la fée
Qui d'Ogier le Danois fu moult lonc temps privée.¹

Fate has decreed that his words should prove tantalizing to his readers of to-day, for the material that was evidently familiar to him eludes us altogether, and it is only in sources later than that which he had before him that we find the account of Morgain's love for Ogier le Danois. Neither the twelfth-century poem of Raimbert de Paris, *La Chevalerie Ogier*,² nor the redaction of its first canto, known as *Les Enfances Ogier*,³ made about 1270 by Adenet le Roi, gives even a hint that the hero penetrated the mysteries of Avalon.⁴ To the fourteenth century we owe a *rifacimento* in alexandrines of Raimbert's *Chevalerie*, which by a judicious use of some eighteen thousand additional verses extended the round of the hero's experiences, and allowed them to include a visit to Avalon.⁵ This poem is preserved in three manuscripts, one of the fourteenth century in Paris, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal,⁶ one of the fifteenth century in the British Museum,⁷ and another of the

¹ Vv. 3252, 3253.

² Ed. Barrois, Paris, 1842.

³ Ed. Scheler, Brussels, 1874. See *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 643-659; Ward, I, 610 ff.

⁴ See Nyrop-Gorra, *Storia dell' Epopea Francese*, Turin, 1888, p. 165; P. Paris, *Recherches sur le Personnage d'Ogier le Danois*, Paris, 1842, p. 6.

⁵ See Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, i, 799 ff.

⁶ 2985, ant. 190-191. See H. Martin, *Catalogue des MSS. de la Bibl. de l'Arsenal*, III, Paris, 1887, pp. 180 ff.

⁷ Royal 15, E. VI, fol. 82-207. See Ward, I, 129-130. *Brun de la Montaigne*, pp. xi, xli.

fifteenth century in the Nazionale of Turin.¹ None of these has been edited in complete form; merely a few fragments have been published, and of these only meagre portions that concern Ogier's relations to Morgain.² In the fifteenth century a prose romance was composed and published, which is said to follow the poem closely.³ In the sixteenth century another poem was produced recounting the adventures of Ogier in fairyland, *Le premier livre des visions d'Ogier le Dannoys au royaume de Fairie*,⁴ an extremely rare book, contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,⁵ and inaccessible for this study of Morgain and Ogier.⁶

Such are our French sources for the episodes that connect Morgain and Ogier,—a scanty amount of first-hand French material available in this country, but many summaries of varying degrees of usefulness.⁷ We have a Danish version of the prose romance by Christiern Pedersen,⁸ from which, so far as we can tell, the French sources show no important variations in those parts that concern Morgain. In fact the summaries indicate that, although the story was told frequently, each version follows the preceding closely, and that

¹ *L. IV, 2, ant. G. I. 38.* See Pasini, *MSS. taurin.*, II, 467, cited by Renier, *Mem. della R. A. delle Sc. di Torino*, Serie 2, XLI, 431.

² For these fragments see *Brun de la Montaigne*, pp. xi, xii; Renier, pp. 431, 432, 439; Ward, I, 608; *La Chevalerie Ogier*, ed. Barrois, p. lxiii; Rothe, *Om Holger Danske*, Copenhagen, 1847, pp. 19-21.

³ See Ward, I, 609; cf. Renier, p. 433.

⁴ Published at Paris, 1542. See Brunet, *Manuel*, IV, 172; Grässe, *Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*, Dresden and Leipzig, 1842, p. 343; Gautier, *Bibliographie des Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1897, p. 151.

⁵ See Renier, *Mem. della R. A. delle Sc. di Torino*, Serie 2, XLI, 434; Child, *Ballads*, I, 319, note; V, 290.

⁶ For a description of the versions mentioned above, see Rothe, *Om Holger Danske*, pp. 1-28.

⁷ Of the fourteenth-century poem summaries are given in Ward, I, 604 ff.; Child, *Ballads*, I, 319; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 204; Rothe, *Om Holger Danske*, pp. 22 ff. Of the fifteenth-century prose romance Renier gives a summary with the didascalia of the edition of Antonio Verard, Paris, ca. 1498; cf. Brunet, *Manuel*, IV, 171. Summaries may be found also in Dunlop-Liebrecht, pp. 140-142, 535, No. 20; Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*, London, 1850, pp. 46 ff. Cf., too, William Morris, *The Earthly Paradise, Ogier the Dane*.

⁸ *Kong Olger Danskes Kronike*, ed. Brandt (*Christiern Pedersen's Danske Skrifter*, V), Copenhagen, 1856, pp. 291 ff., 300, 308, 310 ff. See Rothe, pp. 28, 29; Grässe, *Grossen Sagenkreise*, p. 343.

the outline of Ogier's doings in Avalon is practically invariable in the sources.

In this part of the narrative there is sufficient material to fill many pages of a romance, yet the story is simple and familiar in its structure. For a brief outline we may ask nothing better than that given by Professor Child¹:—

"Six fairies made gifts to Ogier at his birth. By the favor of five he was to be the strongest, the bravest, the most successful, the handsomest, the most susceptible, of knights: Morgan's gift was that, after a long and fatiguing career of glory, he should live with her at her castle of Avalon, in the enjoyment of a still longer youth and never wearying pleasures. When Ogier had passed his one hundredth year, Morgan took measures to carry out her promise. She had him wrecked, while he was on a voyage to France, on a loadstone rock conveniently near to Avalon, which Avalon is a little way this side of the terrestrial Paradise. In due course he comes to an orchard, and there he eats an apple which affects him so peculiarly that he looks for nothing but death. He turns to the east, and sees a beautiful lady, magnificently attired. He takes her for the Virgin; she corrects his error, and announces herself as Morgan the Fay. She puts a ring on his finger which restores his youth, and then places a crown on his head which makes him forget all the past. For two hundred years Ogier lived in such delights as no worldly being can imagine, and the two hundred years seemed to him but twenty; Christendom was then in danger, and even Morgan thought his presence was required in this world. The crown being taken from his head, the memory of the past revived and with it the desire to return to France. He was sent back by the fairy, properly provided, vanquished the foes of Christianity in a short space, and after a time was brought back by Morgan the Fay to Avalon."

Leaving for the time being Ogier's welcome into this world by fays, we may turn to his experiences in Avalon and their sequel. Renier has pointed out² their similarity to those of Partonopeus, who is sent by the fay Melior from her magic castle to France to fight for his native land.³ It is probable, too, that the author also knew the *Bataille Loquifer*.⁴ Ogier, like Renoart, as he enters Avalon is met by fays who pay him great honor. He, too, finds Arthur in Avalon and is greeted lovingly by him. In the *Bataille Loquifer* Renoart has to do combat on his arrival in Avalon with a certain monster Kapalu; Ogier meets in battle in Arthur's stead a King

¹ *Ballads*, I, 319.

² *Mem. della R. A. delle Sc. di Torino*, Serie 2, XLI, 450 ff.

³ See above, p. 17.

⁴ See Renier, pp. 450 ff.; Ward, I, 607.

Kapalus, who defies him shortly after he has entered Avalon. Moreover Morgain in both poems shipwrecks her beloved ; in the *Bataille Loquifer*, it is true, for the sake of vengeance, in *Ogier* to bring him to her own abode. But Morgain is not depicted in the *Bataille Loquifer* as she is in the *Ogier*. In the former she is passionate and rancorous ; in the *Ogier*, even though not in our eyes resembling the Virgin Mary,¹ she is gentle and queenly.

Ogier certainly enjoys no great distinction in being the subject of a fairy retention at Morgain's hands ; but his story does not belong with those discussed above in connection with Arthur and Guiomar. None of these contains the fay's prohibition, the hero's violation thereof, and the fay's ultimate forgiveness and reunion with the hero, all of which are elements in the *Ogier* story. We must look a little more closely at some of the details of the narrative if we would attempt to classify it correctly.

It was while Ogier was suffering from the deadly sickness caused by the apple of Avalon that Morgain appeared to him, and telling him that she had loved him since his birth, summoned him to dwell with her as her true love in Avalon ; and Ogier gave the old response sent by Cuchulinn to Fand : — " Dear lady, it is not meet that I should hold converse with you nor your fair maidens, for I am wholly sick and sore." But Morgain answered, " Be content, I shall make you all sound again " ; and by a touch from her hand he was restored to perfect health.² Then she led him to Avalon, where he was greeted with maidens' mirth, songs and lays and glad cheer, and two centuries of enjoyment had begun for him. A son, Meurvin, was born to him and Morgain, who, we may note in passing, duly became the hero of a long romance.³ When the time came for Ogier to think of home and to return to France, Morgain told him how long he had been with her ; but he did not believe her words, and preferred to test their truth for himself. She bade him never forget her, and never speak in this world of the wonders of Avalon. As a parting gift, she gave him a fire-brand, telling him that when it should be consumed by fire, he would die. Equipped with his ring that gave him a youthful appearance, Ogier was

¹ For examples of fays who are taken for the Virgin see *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 93 ; Child, *Ballads*, I, 319, note ; III, 504 ; Sébillot, *Contes pop. de la H. Bretagne*, II, 31.

² See *Kong Olger Danskes Kronicke*, p. 294.

³ *L'Histoire du preux Meurvin fils de Oger le Dannoys, lequel par sa prouesse conquist Hierusalem, Babilone et plusieurs autres royaumes sur les Infidèles*, Paris, 1540. See Grässe, *Grossen Sagenkreise*, p. 344 ; Gautier, *Bibl. des Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1897, p. 151.

transported by a cloud to this world. He found matters changed by the flight of two hundred years, but was able to fit into his place as a doughty warrior of France. For safe-keeping he left his firebrand with the Abbot of St. Faro, before he entered upon a series of valiant deeds. At the death of King Philip of France, his widow sought Ogier in marriage. According to the poem, however, Ogier was weary of this vale of tears, and at once took measures to leave it. He rode to the Abbey of St. Faro, demanded the firebrand, and flung it into the flames, took his ring from his finger, and instantly became an old man three hundred years of age.

Et ainsi beaux seigneurs que le tison ardoit
 Et par cause de feu illec ainerrissoit
 Ainsi le corps Ogier ille se declinoit
 Et ainsi que le bers en ce peril estoit
 Y vint morgue la fee qui le danois amoit
 Et osta le tison qui ens ou feu flamboit
 Dedens un riche char qui tout de feu sembloit
 Fist eslever Ogier et si le ravissoit
 Et ne seut quil devint labbe qui la estoit
 Ensement fu ravis en faerie droit.¹

In the extant Morgain material there is no other case where this theme occurs. It begins as the story does that we cannot but believe early became a part of the Morgain saga, and with which we have become familiar in connection with Arthur and Alisander. Morgain lures the hero to Avalon by promises of healing the sickness that she has caused. After this the story of Ogier diverges from the others, and follows the Guingamor type. In addition to the details from the lay of *Guingamor* that have already been given, we may recall to mind here that when Guingamor is led by his mistress to her beautiful castle, he is met by a gay company of knights and their *amies*; within he finds the knights whom he had thought departed from earth. When he has passed, as he supposes, three days with his love and she tells him that they have been together three hundred years, he refuses to believe her and must needs depart to earth to prove her words. He finds himself an unknown stranger in familiar scenes peopled with new faces.

¹ See Renier, *Mem. della R. A. delle Sc. di Torino*, Serie 2, XLI, 431, 432. In the prose romance the torch is of minor importance, and the ring is the more prominent gift. Here also Ogier suffers a rather different taking off. As he is about to go to the altar to be wedded to the Queen of France, a beautiful maiden clad in white and shining garments appears to him, embraces him, and carries him off in a great cloud to Avalon. See Renier, as above, 446, 447; *Kong Olger Danskes Kronike*, p. 311.

He has the mien of a gallant young knight, but by his disregard of his fairy love's parting injunction he loses the other-world gift of eternal youth.

An identification of the two stories makes Ogier's connection with Morgain easy to explain. His, like Arthur's, is a name to which heroic and romantic deeds were probably attached even so early as the twelfth century.¹ Literary convention in mediaeval France insisted that any hero of renown should be blessed with the love of a supernatural maiden. The situation was demanded. So it is far from strange that at a time when "Breton" themes were used as a veneer for decadent epic material, as in the *Bataille Loquifer* and *Huon de Bordeaux*, Ogier should be regarded as the beloved of Morgain la fée, and like Arthur should be summoned to Avalon for healing. More than one parallel is to be drawn between episodes told of these two great heroes, for example, in the gifts that fairies give them in infancy, in their anticipated return to earth from the other world.

How then does it happen that the story of Morgain and Ogier resembles so much more closely that of Guingamor than it does that of Morgain and Arthur? Doubtless because many features from the tale of Guingamor and the supernatural maiden whom he loved had been transferred to the story of Morgain and her lover whose name was easily associated with his. In the saga of Ogier we find additional reason to trust the indications held out by the Guiomar material that this was the case. Ward² says that with the exception of the firebrand the "fairy machinery seems to be chiefly imitated from that of the *Chanson of the Bataille Loquifer*"; but although a version of the *Bataille Loquifer* was doubtless before our author, he possibly was also familiar with a version

¹ See Barrois, *La Chevalerie Ogier*, pp. xlv ff.; Renier, *Mem. della R. A. delle Sc. di Torino*, Serie 2, XLI, 457; Voretzsch (*Über die Sage von Ogier dem Dänen*, Halle, 1891, p. 30) cites a passage from the *Pseudo-Turpin* as evidence that songs dealing with Ogier were known as early as the middle of the twelfth century; cf. also Voretzsch, pp. 31-33.

² I, 607. The firebrand Ward attributes to the story of Meleager. A reason for its being found in Morgain's possession may perhaps be derived from the *Huth Merlin*, where Merlin is said to create similar torches, and thus to arouse Morgain's desire to learn his art that she may do what he does. See p. 226, note.

of Morgain's *amour* with Guiomar that had been very perceptibly colored by the kind of incidents known to us through the lay of *Guingamor*. Probably to this story, too, there remained clinging the early episode of the promised fairy healing. If we attempt to assert just why this theme should have been transferred to Ogier, we shall be wise above what is written. A plausible reason, however, is that a famous fairy theme was naturally that chosen to be repeated of an important person, such as Ogier. Moreover, because Arthur was known to be in Avalon with Morgain—even though not as her lover,—a theme already attached to Morgain's name would naturally be selected as that to be told of Ogier, who thus would follow not only Arthur but many another distinguished hero to a resting place in Avalon, Morgain's island. Granted this development, the *Bataille Loquifer* might well be drawn upon for some of Ogier's adventures after he reached Avalon.

Morgain herself is in the Ogier story very little more than a type of a beguiling supernatural woman, devoid of the personality that characterizes her in the earlier material. There are other episodes which will be discussed later, that represent the same stage in the Morgain tradition, where she appears to be simply a typical fairy queen.

CHAPTER VII

THE VAL SANZ RETOR

E ancora vi venne chavalier ben cento
cheancelotto avie diliberati
già per adrieto pello inchantamento
ove morghana gli avien prigionati
in una valle chon grande arghomento
in questo locho ov' erano impacciati
i' chavalieri ch' io chonto tutti quanti
era la valle de fallaci amanti.¹

THERE is an episode connected with Morgain's name, which in one of the sources is represented as a sequel to her love for Guiomar, and which it will be of interest to look at now before turning to the remaining stories that show Morgain's hostility toward Guinevere. The scene of this episode is a famous valley, known as the *Val sans Retor*, because no knight has ever returned therefrom, and also as the *Val des faux amants*,² because no knight who has ever been false to his lady even in thought can leave the valley when once he has entered it. The story of the valley is told in the prose *Lancelot*,³ the *Livre d'Artus, P.*,⁴ and a *conte*, *Le Vallon des Faux Amants*.⁵

(1) *The Creation of the Valley.*

According to all the sources except the *Livre d'Artus, P.*, Morgain believed herself beloved by a certain knight upon whom she had for a long time set her affection, but who had really given his love to another maiden more beautiful than she. One day the lovers met in a smiling valley, and here they were surprised by Morgain. In her rage and grief she cast a spell upon the valley, so that no knight who once entered there, if he had been false to his love in any respect, could leave. By her magic also she made her rival fancy herself enclosed in ice from her feet to her girdle, and wrapped in flame from her girdle to her hair. [In *Le Vallon des Faux Amants*, Morgain tantalizingly fastens the two lovers within

¹ *Li Chantari di Lancillotto*, ed. Birch, London, 1874, p. 38.

² *Vallon périlleux*, in *Le Vallon des Faux Amants*, p. 159.

³ *Lancelot*, II, lxix; Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 235-245, 283-293.

⁴ § 102.

⁵ Legrand d'Aussy, I, 156 ff.

sight of each other.] The enchantment shall last until the coming of a knight who has never been false to his love in deed or thought.

In the *Livre d'Artus, P.*, the story runs that Morgain, after her separation by the queen from Guiomar, in order to have him again under her control, and to anger the queen and the Round Table, as well as to be able to take from the queen any knight whom she loves, creates the Val sanz Retor by the art that she has learned from Merlin.

(2) *The Features of the Valley.*

The valley is long and wide, fair and verdant, watered by a sparkling fountain. It is spread at the foot of lofty hills, and is completely surrounded by a wall of mist through which alone lies entrance and egress, and which appears to follow closely him who passes through it. At the entrance Morgain builds the so-called Chapelle Morgain, which affords the inhabitants of the valley an opportunity to enjoy the comforts of religion.¹ A single road leads through the valley, adorned with beautiful dwellings. Although the knights confined there remain unwillingly, the life is glad and gay, constant *amies* may abide with their lovers, and all beguile the time with feasting, music, dancing, chess, and draughts. At one point the road leads through a low, narrow passage, guarded by two fire-breathing dragons. It passes on over a boiling torrent that can be crossed only by means of a narrow plank defended by knights on the opposite shore. Further on a wall of flames obstructs the way, and still more adventures² must be encountered by him who travels along this path, which leads to the palace of Morgain.

(3) *The Dispelling of the Enchantment.*

[*Lancelot*; Paris, *R. T. R.*: — Galeschin, duke of Clarence, attempts the adventures of the valley. He makes his way as far as the bridge, but is overcome by its defenders and taken into a garden where he finds many former comrades. Yvain and Lancelot, on their way to another adventure, pass through the valley. Yvain enters first, and is luckless enough to meet the same fate as Galeschin. Lancelot is not to be deterred from following his comrade.] He dashes boldly into the mist, kills both dragons, crosses the bridge without a tremor, and routs five defenders on the opposite shore. He chances to bethink him of a ring that the Dame du Lac has given him, which has virtue to overcome all enchantments. As soon as he exposes it to view, the water and plank vanish. He passes through the wall of flame, and pushes boldly forward until he reaches a stairway defended by three knights. Two of these he vanquishes, the third leads him a long chase through hall and apartments and garden into a beautiful pavilion, where Morgain lies slumbering peacefully on a luxurious couch. The knight conceives the idea of taking refuge under the couch, but Lancelot overturns it, regardless of its fair occupant and her screams at such a rude

¹ Paris (*R. T. R.*, IV, 239, note 1) gives details as to the structure of the chapel from the *Livre d'Artus, P.* that do not appear elsewhere.

² These adventures are not further described in the versions cited.

awakening, dashes after the fleeing knight, and succeeds in beheading him in a distant apartment. Then, the knight's head in his hand, he returns to Morgain, drops on his knees before her, and tenders her the head with a humble apology for having upset her couch. The captive knights, Morgain's first lover among them, come thronging in and hail Lancelot as their deliverer. Morgain tries to conceal her rage at the destruction of her valley. She bids Lancelot pass the night in her castle, and before dawn she casts him into an enchanted sleep, and conveys him to one of her favorite forest dwellings. The next morning the rescued knights find themselves with their horses in the midst of a plain, but the castle, water, garden, and walls of air have vanished.¹

Nobody can read this long and elaborate episode without immediately recognizing that whatever the germ of the story is, in the form that reaches us here it suspiciously resembles a late concoction. With the exception of those episodes in which Morgain is represented distinctly as living in Avalon (e.g., the *Vita Merlini*, *Bataille Loquifer*, *Gesta Regum Britanniae*), her abode here is more purely an other-world abode than in any other incident told of her. For in the Val sanz Retor we are dealing distinctly with an other-world adventure. Merely the name of the valley is enough to indicate this,² and its important features may all be paralleled from other-world scenes. It belongs, as Philipot has pointed out,³ to the same class of region as the garden of *La Joie de la Cour*⁴ and the enchanted garden of the Queen of Denmark,⁵ to the castle of mist where the Noir Chevalier is confined, and to Merlin's air-bounded prison.⁶

The scene of the adventure known as *La Joie de la Cour* is laid in the garden of Brandigain, the island castle of king Evrain. This garden, where magic fruit and perennial flowers grow and where birds sing with

¹ The analysis of the undated *conte*, *Le Vallon des Faux Amants*, gives nothing beyond Lancelot's entrance to the valley. It is evidently based on the *Lancelot* version. Cf. *Conte de la Charrette*, ed. Jonckbloet, The Hague, 1850, p. lvi; Legrand d'Aussy, I, 71.

² *Conte de la Charrette*, vv. 641-647; *Erec*, vv. 5435-5437; Raoul, *Messire Gauvain ou La Vengeance de Raguidel*, ed. Hippeau, Paris, 1862, v. 593; *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, ed. Armstrong, Baltimore, 1900, v. 180; *Guingamor*, vv. 174-182; *Livre d'Artus*, P., pp. 9-16; below, p. 124, note 5; Campbell, I, 83; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, London, 1896, III, 98, 104; *Conte de la Charrette*, pp. lxix ff.; Paris, *Rom.*, XII (1883), 508.

³ *Rom.*, XXVII (1898), 259.

⁴ *Erec*, vv. 5367-6410; cf. *Mabinogion*, II, 136 ff.

⁵ *Livre d'Artus*, P., §§ 147, 211, 230, 235-242.

⁶ These last two episodes are discussed below, pp. 208 ff.

ravishing sweetness, is enclosed by a high wall of air, so fashioned that only by flying is it possible for any creature to enter it. There is, however, *une estroite entrée*, through which a crowd of people succeed in going into the garden. Here the knight, Mabonagrain, is kept in confinement by a maiden whom he had long loved, and who had bidden him in fulfillment of a promise that he would always do her will remain in the garden until a knight should enter who could conquer him. Erec is the victorious knight who dispels the enchantment by forcing Mabonagrain to declare himself recreant. The joy of the people of the castle knows no bounds, and they hail Erec as the restorer of gladness to the court of Evrain. The fay is sad at the loss of her knight, but yields to consolation derived from Enid.¹

The mist-enclosed garden of the Queen of Denmark was established for purposes of revenge. She fears for the safety of her son Oriel of whom Gawain is in pursuit, and wishing to decoy knights from the path that Oriel will take, she establishes the adventure of the garden; especially, with the intention of giving Logres to Oriel, she hopes to imprison Arthur here in revenge for the ill that he has done her in war. The wall of air that surrounds the garden has a single opening for entrance and for egress, but he who has once tasted of the magic apples that grow within can never leave it. If a knight refuse to eat the fruit, he must fight with two bands of ten knights each and with three giants. Those who eat the fruit lose all desire to leave the garden, and dwell there happily in complete forgetfulness of their interrupted quests. Saigremor, Arthur, and Gawain enter, overcome the champions, and dispel the enchantment, to the wrath of the Queen of Denmark.²

These episodes explain the type of place to which the Val sanz Retor belongs. The walls of air from which there is no exit, like the druidic mist common in Celtic stories, indicate the bewildering effect of the fairy power.³ In the Val sanz Retor and the version of *La Joie de la Cour* in *Geraint*, the hedge of mist is unbroken and there is no question of entering the other world except by dashing through the barrier. This is the primitive condition; the druidic mist completely envelops

¹ For a discussion of this episode see Paris, *Rom.*, XX (1891), 148-166; Philipot, *Rom.*, XXVII, 259 ff.

² For brief discussions of this episode see Philipot, *Rom.*, XXVII, 259; Freymond, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XVII (1895), 15 ff.; cf. Schofield, *Studies and Notes*, V, 224.

³ For the druidic mist cf., e.g., Meyer and Nutt, I, 78; *Mabinogion*, III, 173; *Academy*, XLI (1892), 399; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 228, 290; *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, VI, 25; Campbell, II, 109, 212; III, 204, note; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, London, 1879, p. 331; MacDougall, pp. 151, 152, 153, 219; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1900, p. 33; O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Anc. Irish History*, Dublin, 1873, p. 620; Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, pp. 153-156.

the hero, and there is properly no escape from the fay's power. Thus Galeschin, unable as he is to overcome the spell of his surroundings, is pursued by the mist after he thinks that he has passed through it.

Once within the wall of air we find ourselves clearly in the other world. Beautiful dwellings, feasting, music, and chess are accepted commonplaces of fairyland.¹ The adventures, too, are quite as distinctively other-world as the delights of the valley. According to Chrétien's story, Lancelot on his way to the land *don nus estranges ne retorne* is told that one of the dangers of his road is the *passage des pierres*, well defended and so narrow that only one knight can pass through it at a time.² Moreover, of the two magic bridges by which the Land without Return can be entered, that selected by Lancelot for his approach is the so-called *pont de l'épée*.³ This remarkable

¹ Cf. Meyer and Nutt, I, 58, 169, 176; *Bran*, §§ 8, 9, 13, 18, 21; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 199, 200; *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, IV, 243, 245; VI, 81, 83.

² *Conte de la Charrette*, vv. 2175 ff.

³ *Id.*, vv. 672-677, 3021-3147; see p. lxxii; *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XIV (1890), 159-160; XVII (1893), 74, note. Cf. Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 27, 28, 52-54; *Livre d'Artus*, P., § 113. The origin of such a bridge as the *pont de l'épée* is perhaps explained by a passage in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, which mentions the magic dagger of Berwyn. "When Arthur and his hosts came before a torrent, they would seek for a narrow place where they might pass the water, and would lay the sheathed dagger across the torrent, and it would form a bridge sufficient for the armies of the Islands of Britain, and of the three Islands adjacent with their spoil" (*Mabinogion*, II, 264). Cf. the bridge high as a tower and sharp as a razor which is said to span a boiling torrent at the entrance to the Terrestrial Paradise in the English *Owain Miles* (Edinburgh, 1837, p. 35); on this cf. Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, p. 123. For examples of dangerous bridges see Meyer and Nutt, I, 77:—Mongan's bridge, which falls beneath those who are crossing it, when they reach the middle; *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889), 160:—the bridge on the seventeenth island in the *Voyage of Maelduin*, on which he who steps falls backward; *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 75; *Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), 299:—the Bridge of the Cliff, which "had two low ends and the middle space high, and whenever anybody leaped on one end of it, the other head would lift itself up and throw him on his back"; *Perceval*, vv. 28,411-28,482:—the bridge built for Carmadit by his fairy mistress, left unfinished because of his death, which extends half-way across a rushing stream; when stepped on by Perceval, it utters a noise, unfastens itself from one bank, turns and attaches itself to the opposite bank; *Huth Merlin*, II, 59:—Merlin constructs an iron bridge, half a foot wide, that only a valorous knight can cross; cf. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio Evo*, Florence, 1896, II, 195; see also *Tavola Ritonda*, I, 290; Campbell, I, 261; II, 74; *Tundale*, ed. Wagner, Halle, 1893, vv. 407 ff., 561 ff.; cf. Becker, *The Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899, p. 85, where on pp. 17, 44, 76 other examples are given. On the Perilous Passage as a Celtic other-world feature, see *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 75 ff.

bridge is as narrow as a sword-blade, and spans a boiling torrent. Lancelot sees two horrible lions guarding the opposite shore, but he crosses the bridge in spite of wounds and slashes, healed and supported, adds the courtly Chrétien, by love. When he has crossed, he finds that the lions have vanished completely.

Il met sa main devant sa face,
S'esgarde son anel et prueve,
Quant nul des deus lions n'i trueve
Qu'il i cuidoit avoir vëuz,
Qu' anchantez fu et decëuz;
Car il n'i avoit rien qui vive.¹

*Rigomer*² recounts the adventures of Lancelot when he tried to free Dionise, the mistress of the castle Rigomer, from the spell cast upon her dwelling by a fay. "Dans la lande qui entoure le château, on peut jouter et mener belle vie, pourvu que l'on consente à n'y entrer que désarmé; mais, si l'on veut passer le pont qui traverse le fossé, il faut combattre un serpent monstrueux, et quand même on arriverait à le vaincre, on n'en serait pas moins sûrement ou tué ou dés-honoré." Although Lancelot overcomes the serpent, he is enticed by a maiden into the castle, given a lance that deprives him of courage and a ring that deprives him of memory, and remains a prisoner until he is at last freed by Gawain. When Ogier enters Avalon an angel comes to him and bids him meet undaunted whatever adventure may befall him. The path leads him to a beautiful palace, but as he enters its portal two ravening lions spring upon him. Of course he fells one of them to the ground and smites off the head of the other. Renoart,³ Carduino,⁴ and Bel Gherardino⁵ all encounter at their entrance to fairyland monsters or animals that are really human beings enchanted into the shape from which the deed of the hero releases them. So also in the *Voyage of Maelduin* we have an example in a somewhat different form of the other test of Lancelot that our versions

¹ *Conte de la Charrette*, vv. 3138-3143.

² *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 88-90.

³ *Bataille Loquifer*, pp. 251-255.

⁴ *Carduino*, II, st. 42 ff.

⁵ *Lo Bel Gherardino*, ed. Zambrini, Bologna, 1867, I, st. 12 ff.

mention, namely the wall of fire:—“Ils aperçurent ensuite une petite île; un mur de feu l'entourait, ce mur était mobile et tournait tout autour.”¹ Finally, after the adventures of the valley have all been accomplished and the enchantment dispelled, the entire scene vanishes, as fairyland ever has vanished from the eyes of the mortal who has overcome the other-world power or been abandoned by it.²

It is not necessary to resort to any of the attempts at popular etymologizing of *Avalon* into elements that connected it with a valley³ in order to account for the location of Morgain's dwelling in this episode. Celtic stories tell of magic glens that are the abode of horrors, essentially places of danger where the hero's valor is to be tested.

By the enchantment of Dornolla, a loathly maiden whose love Cuchulinn has spurned, he is separated from his companions in a journey across Alba to the dwelling of Scathach; he loses his way and is forced to take a road that leads him through the Perilous Glen, across which there lies a single narrow path beset with monsters sent by an enemy to destroy him.⁴

One of Peredur's adventures takes place in the Round Valley, a circular valley surrounded by rocky, wooded sides. Deep in the wood there are large black houses, rudely built. Within the wood Peredur comes upon a rocky ledge, on which a lion lies asleep. Peredur strikes him from his

¹ *Ép. Celt.*, I, 493; *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889), 171. Cf. Larminie, *West Irish Folk Tales and Romances*, London, 1893, p. 14:—Three miles of fire are passed over by a hero on an other-world quest. Campbell, II, 456 ff.:—A magic island has a hoop of fire about it, across which only a valorous knight can leap.

² See *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII, 162; *Ép. Celt.*, I, 475, 477; Stokes and Windisch, II, ii, 215; *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, VI, 71; *Perceval*, vv. 20,302 ff., 26,971 ff.; *Bel Inconnu*, vv. 5303 ff. Cf. *Holy Grail*, p. 202.

La Chapelle Morgain is a highly incongruous adjunct to this scene from fairyland. We can hardly refrain from suspecting that we have in it a transferred bit of local tradition that attributed to fairy agency the rocky entrance of some valley where the mists settle. Megalithic formations are very commonly associated in name with fays in Brittany (see Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la H. Bretagne*, I, 5 ff., 106; II, 203; Maury, p. 46; cf. for similar traditions in Ireland, Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, London, 1895, p. 270). Morgain's name still lingers in Pléhérel in Brittany in the so-called Tertre de la fée Morgant, a spot to which according to the popular belief fays used to come (see Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup.*, I, 97). Tradition to-day in the Côtes du-Nord classes several unfinished chapels with the work of fays, who from one cause or another left their task incomplete (see Sébillot, *Petite Légende Dorée*, No. XLIX).

³ See p. 42.

⁴ See *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 74; K. Meyer, *Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), 234, 298 ff.; *Rev. Celt.*, XI (1890), 447.

resting place into the pit beneath, and leads his horse across the ledge down into the valley. Here a certain great gray man owns a fair castle, where Peredur is entertained for the night, but where he learns that on the morrow he must fight with giants who inhabit the black houses in the woods. The next day he engages in the inevitable encounter, slays a third of the gray man's giants, and spares the rest on condition that the gray man do homage to Arthur.¹

To turn now to a somewhat different type of adventure, the scene of which is laid in an other-world valley : —

In the *Lay of the Great Fool (Amadan Mor)*² a "solitary valley" is described, a place

Of purest streams, woods, and soil,
And the roar of the waves on rocky cliffs.

It is full of witchcraft and enchantment, and leads to Dun-an-Oir (*Fort of the Gold*), the marvellously beautiful dwelling of the Gruagach or enchanter, who is the lord of the valley; here the loyalty of the guest to his host undergoes a severe test through magic agencies. By enduring the test manfully Amadan Mor unspells the Gruagach, who has been disguised through sorcery, and he stands revealed as Amadan Mor's own brother, who has long sought him. Near by in the valley is another mansion, the dwelling of five terrific giants, whom it takes a deadly contest to overcome.³

The adventures in the other Celtic glens about which we have been reading concern simply the well-being of the individual hero ; they are the necessities of his path. The adventure performed by Amadan Mor has to do with the unspelling of the lord of the magic castle, and herein it resembles that of the Val sanz Retor. The latter belongs to that class of other-world episode which Alfred Nutt denominates the "unspelling quest,"⁴ when, as in the story of the Grail Castle, the mortal visitor to the other world goes not to enjoy the smiles of a fairy mistress, but to free captives of the other-world power.

The magic castle of Ygerne,⁵ the Chastel as Pucièles, has been laid by a necromancer's art under a spell that turns every knight who enters into a

¹ *Mabinogion*, I, 330-335.

² Ed. *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, VI, 161 ff. On the early character of the material that appears in this lay, see *Holy Grail*, pp. 152, 162; *Studies and Notes*, IV, 171 ff.

³ Examples of similar glens in modern Celtic tales are to be found in Campbell, III, 78, 315; MacDougall, pp. 19-22, 264.

⁴ *Holy Grail*, p. 199; cf. p. 191.

⁵ *Perceval*, vv. 8830 ff.

coward. Here are gathered young men and old from all lands, widows wrongfully deprived of their possessions, and orphan damsels, all waiting until a knight comes so accomplished in knightly virtues that he can withstand the enchantment and perform certain adventures that await him in the castle. Then the disinherited ladies shall be reinstated in their possessions, the damsels shall marry, the young men shall become knights. Gawain passes victoriously through the adventures, and is hailed as saviour by the inmates of the castle.

Yvain finds in the Chastel de Pesme Avanture¹ a band of unhappy maidens, ill-fed and ill-attired, who are kept ever weaving silk in a meadow by two demi-devils, the lords of the castle, until a valiant knight shall come who can defeat them in contest. Yvain performs the adventure, and is loaded with blessings by the released maidens.

It is probably the same kind of place that is the scene of an adventure of Gaheriet described in the *Perceval*.²

Gaheriet enters a magic castle and passes through a garden into a pavilion where he finds a knight and a lady. The knight bursts into a tempest of rage because Gaheriet has dared enter the premises unbidden, and tells him that he must fight in the garden of the castle with a dwarf.³ Gaheriet is defeated and then learns from the dwarf that every knight conquered in the garden must return at the end of a year, when he may either begin weaving silk in the castle, or engage again in contest with the dwarf; if he is victorious he may go free, if he refuse these conditions he must at once be beheaded. Gaheriet agrees to return in a year. As he makes his way out of the castle, he sees in a chamber many ladies fashioning girdles, who taunt him with defeat; gay companies of ladies and knights playing *pelotes*, chess, and draughts jeer at him; a crowd of knights and sergeants gathered in the hall mock at him as he passes; people in the streets throw bits of fish and meat after him and revile him.⁴ At the end of a year Gaheriet returns and kills the dwarf as well as the lord of the castle; but with this part of the story there is entangled another adventure, so that we hear nothing about the unspelling of the inmates of the castle, which we are fain to believe formed part of the original story and gave it a motive.

It is plain, then, that the Val sanz Retor is an other-world region whither a knight goes on an unspelling quest. But this is not the end of the story, and another important characteristic of the scene demands our attention. The valley itself does not serve merely as an enchanted prison; it has an additional quality which we shall see is found in countless

¹ *Yvain*, vv. 5107-5811.

² Vv. 21,135-21,724.

³ See p. 126.

⁴ Cf. *Bel Inconnu*, vv. 2511-2522 ff.

enchanted objects, — it serves as a fidelity test. Only the loyal lover can overcome its difficulties.

There are two other incidents told of Lancelot that are excellent commentaries on the structure of our episode. In the first of these we must accompany the magician, Guinebaut, "a goode clerke and a wise" according to the *English Merlin*,¹ as he is faring through the Forest Perilleuse, later known as the Forest sanz Retor.

Guinebaut comes in sight of a fair meadow where a *carole* is being danced by knights and ladies before an aged knight and a beautiful maiden, whose charms the clerk is not slow to regard with an appreciative eye. He succeeds in winning her love by promising to make the *carole* continue as long as she desires; all men and women who come hither must join the dance whether they will or no, until that knight arrives who has never been false in love and is the best knight of his time. The maiden, delighted with this specimen of her lover's skill, begs for something better yet, and entreats him to make another magic game which shall never fail, that all the world may speak thereof after his death. Then Guinebaut makes a chessboard of gold and ivory, the pieces of which are self-moving, ever-mating, until the best knight who has never been false in love shall play against them.

Lancelot du Lac is the faithful lover destined to put an end to the *carole* and to win the chessboard. Guinebaut abides thereafter ever with his love, and teaches her many other secrets of enchantment. He [in *Le Roi Artus*, she] created the *carole* that Meraugis found in the Cité sanz nom.

In the *Roman d'Agravain* we read that Lancelot enters the Forest Perdue, whence no knight has ever returned. He comes to a tower before which knights and ladies under an enchantment are dancing a *carole*, but his arrival breaks the spell, and he learns from the dancers that the destruction of the enchantment has been reserved for him. He takes his place at the chessboard and mates the opposing chessmen. The spectators hail him as victor. He sends the board to the queen, who is at once mated by the magic chessmen. Arthur accordingly keeps the board as a priceless gift.

Naturally we turn at once to the romance of *Meraugis de Portlesgues*² to learn of the hero's experiences at the Château des Caroles. He finds a band of maidens dancing a *carole* led by a solitary knight about a green pine in the court of the

¹ Pp. 350, 361–363; cf. *Vulgate Merlin*, pp. 261 ff.; *Merlin* (1528), I, clxviii, clxix; Paris, R. T. R., II, 196 ff.; cf. V, 309–312; *Livre d'Artus*, P., § 24; *Lancelot*, vv. 16,168–16,261, 18,136 ff.

² Raoul de Houdenc, *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, ed. Michelant, Paris, 1869, pp. 155 ff., 184; ed. Friedwagner, Halle, 1897, vv. 3662, 4329 ff.

castle. No sooner is Meraugis himself within the court than he feels an irresistible desire to join in the song and dance ; but when he begins to take part, the other knight withdraws, and Meraugis is obliged to remain dancing the *carole* for ten weeks, until the arrival of still a different knight breaks the spell and enables him to leave the castle.

For a similar scene we may look back a good deal earlier than the time of Raoul de Houdenc. In the *Voyage of Bran*,¹ and in the thirty-first adventure of the *Voyage of Maelduin*²

¹ § 61.

² *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889), 171. Nutt has pointed out that section 61 of the *Voyage of Bran* is evidently a "mere excrescence" (Meyer and Nutt, I, 171), but that this special adventure of the *Voyage of Maelduin* is so clearly an integral part of the tale that it undoubtedly appeared in the original form of the story. This gives a date as early as the ninth century, according to F. Lot (*Rom.*, XXIV, 1893, 326) or perhaps the end of the eighth, according to Zimmer and Nutt (see Meyer and Nutt, I, 163), for the story of the irresistible merry-making, and also shows us that the dance is plainly a Celtic other-world feature.

Survivals of the same adventure are found in modern Celtic tales, which represent honest country folk, sometimes enticed by sweet music, coming suddenly upon a band of fairy people dancing round and round upon the green. The mortal is drawn into the circle, and remains there dancing, oblivious of time. At length, after varying intervals, he is rescued by a friend who is obliged to use main force to draw him from the dance. In some variants the mortal moulders to dust immediately on leaving the fairy circle. See, e.g., the tales collected in Wales and Scotland given by Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, pp. 161 ff. Cf. also for fairy dances, Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, p. 117 ; *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Zielke, Breslau, 1880, vv. 295 ff. ; Child, *Ballads*, I, 330 ff. ; Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, ed. Wright, London, s. a., pp. 288 ff. ; Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, Berlin, 1816, No. 51 ; Pluquet, *Contes Populaires*, Rouen, 1834, p. 3 ; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, pp. 61, 62 ; Grimm, *Irische Elfenmärchen*, Leipzig, 1826, pp. lxxxi ff. ; below, p. 117, note 3.

The widely diffused story of the Dancers of Kölbigk appears to show, as Professor Schofield has suggested to me, the influence of the Celtic fairy dance. (For the story see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, London, 1887, II, § 174 ; Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1862, vv. 6890-6940 ; William of Wadinton, *Le Manuel des Pechiez*, publ. in *Handlyng Synne*, ed. cit., vv. 6890-6940. See also for a full collection and discussion of these and other sources Schröder, *Zs. f. Kirchengeschichte*, XVII, 1896-1897, 96 ff. ; G. Paris, *Journal des Savants*, December, 1899, 733 ff.) A company of young men and maidens in the Saxon town of Colebize (Kölbigk) one Christmas eve were tempted by the devil to indulge in a gay dance in the cemetery by the church of Saint Magnus. The priest commanded them to cease from such sacrilege, but they paid no heed to him and went on with their dance. Although his own daughter was among the number, the priest at once called down an imprecation upon them : *Utinam potentia Dei et merito sancti Magni martiris sic inquieti annum cantando ducatis*. His son seized his sister by

the story is recorded of a gay multitude dwelling on an other-world island in whose continual laughter and games a mortal visitor must perforce join, and which he never can leave. This island has already been connected by Ferdinand Lot with the *carole* of Meraugis, though he does not pursue the analogy to that of Guinebaut.¹ The three sources, however, the Celtic stories, Meraugis, and the Guinebaut episode, really mark three distinct stages in the treatment of the theme. In the Celtic stories it appears in its simple form, in the Meraugis the influence of the "custom" is perceptible, in the episode of Guinebaut still a further step is taken.

In this source the name of the land in which the *carole* is established, the Forest sanz Retor, — the amusements created

the arm, attempting to draw her out from the band by force, but the arm came off in his hand, yet not a drop of blood flowed. For a year the dance continued. The dancers felt no storm, knew neither cold nor heat, hunger nor thirst, their garments did not wear out, their hair did not grow long. At the end of the year the curse was removed; the company were released from the dance, and a deep sleep fell upon them, in which they continued for three days and three nights. Then three of the number died, the rest remained throughout their lives the victims of a twitching of the limbs (*tremor membrorum*) as a memorial of their sin.

The elements of this dance, if we eliminate the churchly influence, are identical with those of the dance in the Forest sanz Retor, the Château des Caroles, and the Celtic islands, and lead naturally to the supposition that this is an instance where Celtic material has been made use of in a tale that served to explain some physical infirmity, such as St. Vitus' dance (see Schröder, p. 104; Paris, pp. 734, 744), and also to point the moral which we find emphasized by William of Waddington and Robert of Brunne that dancing on holy days is sacrilegious. (Cf. for the possible interlacing of Celtic tradition and the legends of the church pp. 53, 191, note 1; also, although here the parallel is less close, with the blooming gardens made in January by enchantment, mentioned p. 207, note, cf. Jacopo da Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Grässe, Leipzig, 1850, p. 911.)

For remarks suggestive of the possible Breton provenience of the material see Paris, p. 734; cf. Schröder, pp. 105, 106. Cf. also the Breton folk tales which tell of an innocent company of dancers whom the devil joins, usually in the form of a gay gallant, who is an admirable dancer, and who compels the mortals to continue the dance unceasingly whether they will or no; a priest comes upon the scene, drives the devil away, and releases the dancers from the spell (see Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la Haute Bretagne*, I, 192 ff.; *Littérature Orale de la Haute Bretagne*, Paris, 1881, p. 172).

¹ *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 325. It is doubtless a reminiscence of the unvalorous release of one participant in the *carole* of *Meraugis* simply by the advent of a newcomer, that occasions the discrepancy in the story of *Le Roi Artus*; here it is said that the dancers of to-day in Guinebaut's *carole* must take the place of the dancers of yesterday, although the entire point of the narrative consists in the fact that none can leave the dance or the forest until Lancelot dispels the enchantment.

by the enchanter, *caroles* and chess, the name of the lady, corrupted though it seems in the forms that we have, la Dame de la Terre Estrange Soustenue,¹ Terre Lointaine,² Londe Susteyn,³ Honorable la dame de la Terre Soutaine,⁴ — all indicate that it is essentially the other world to which the *carole* belongs. But here it is made use of by an enchanter as a means to stir a lady's admiration; hence it receives a new introduction, and is no longer an isolated feature in the story. It also receives a conclusion, — the condition that the spell can be broken only by the coming of the faithful lover, Lancelot. Very much the same is true of the magic chessboard, which we shall find elsewhere in the romances used to test a knight in one way or another, but not to prove whether he be a perfect lover. The first part of the Guinebaut story, as we shall see when we come to examine the legend of Merlin and Niniane, very probably existed as an ordinary theme in independent narratives, and the conclusion, which gives a reason for the magic creations by letting them exhibit Lancelot's flawless love for the queen, places the incident among the many that in the romances are attached to the name of Lancelot to enhance what had become his most prominent characteristic, namely, his devotion to the queen. The compiler is using a typical other-world situation and object in the service of Lancelot and of his romance.⁵

¹ *Vulgate Merlin*. ² *Le Roi Artus*. ³ *English Merlin*. ⁴ *Livre d'Artus, P.*

⁵ A parallel treatment of other-world material, Professor Schofield reminds me, appears in the *Lai du Trot* (ed. Monmerqué and Michel in Renaut, *Lai d'Ignaurès*, Paris, 1832, pp. 71–83), where a fairy cavalcade is made the basis for a Court of Love allegory. As a certain knight of Bretagne, Lorois by name, rode out to the woods one April morning, he saw come from the forest two gay companies of beautiful ladies, who wore fine raiment and were crowned with garlands of flowers; they were mounted on snow-white palfreys, whose pace was marvelously swift, yet almost imperceptible to the rider. Each maiden was attended by a handsome, gallant lover. *Là ot moult delitouse vie*. Ere long Lorois heard a sound of wailing, and saw another band of maidens emerge from the forest, mounted on horses that were lean and spare, in broken harness. Each damsel went her way alone, without a lover, in tattered clothes, and riding at a violent pace. The maidens were followed by a band of youths in the same wretched plight. One of the company explained to Lorois that the happy ladies and their lovers were they who in life had been loyal servants of Love; whereas the forlorn and dolorous band was composed of those who had been disdainful of his claims. Never should they have rest summer nor winter, and they who refused to love could not escape joining the cavalcade.

That this is exactly the principle upon which the episode of the Val sanz Retor is constructed is obvious from the incidents cited above, that furnish parallels to individual features. It is all the more clear when we read the story in *Claris et Laris* of a wonderful valley over which Morgain presides.¹

This company that Lorois met bears a close resemblance to a pure fairy cavalcade. Such a train rode forth from the other world in quest of Heurodas, the wife of Sir Orfeo (see *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Zielke, Breslau, 1880, vv. 55-328). As Heurodas lay sleeping one day under a tree, there came to her the fairy king attended by a train of fairy riders

Al on snowewhite stedes,
As white as milke were her wedes.

The king made Heurodas ride beside him on a snow-white palfrey to the other world. When Orfeo was deprived of his bride, he dwelt in solitude in the forest. Often he saw the King of Fairy with his route come hunting through the woods; often he watched a great host of knights gallop by, and mysteriously vanish. A band of ladies, too, came riding past him, "gentle and jolif," and not a man amongst them. With them he espied Heurodas, who also saw him, and wept.

þe oþer levedis þis yseiþe
And maked hir oway to ride;
Sche most wiþ him no lenger abide.

The ballad of *Tam Lin* relates a similar experience of Tam Lin who, carried to fairyland by the Queen o' Fairies, must needs ride in her train, "just at the mirk and midnight hour" of Hallowe'en (see Child, *Ballads*, I, 340 ff. For the fairy cavalcade cf. Kittredge, *Am. Journ. of Phil.*, VII (1886), 189; Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, pp. 121 ff.; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 187).

The essential difference between the fairy cavalcade in the *Lai du Trot* and the others to which I have referred is one of motive. In the former there is no return from the fairy company when the mortal has once joined it, and it is just as difficult for the rider to leave the snow-white fairy horse as for one of the dancers in the Chastel des Caroles to leave his place, or for one of the unhappy maidens in the Chastel de Pesme Avanture to cease from her silk-weaving until the necessary conditions for release shall be fulfilled. But the members of the fairy cavalcade in the *Lai du Trot* are depicted as if they were the figures in a Court of Love allegory, the faithful servants of Love rewarded by his pleasures, or his disdainful scoffers who cannot leave the ceaseless motion that the angry god has imposed upon them (see Neilson, *Rom.*, XXIX, 1900, 85 ff.). In other words the customs of fairyland are blended with those of the God of Love, whose court played so important a part in the social conceptions of mediaeval life (cf. Id., *Studies and Notes*, VI, 156 ff., for a discussion of the mingling of fairy lore and Court of Love allegory in the *Isle of Ladies* or Chaucer's *Dream*). With the pace of the horses in the *Lai du Trot* cf. that of Rhiannon's horse, above, pp. 3, 4; cf. also that of the Elf-queen's in *Thomas Rhymer*, Child, *Ballads*, I, 325). In a similar way the other-world valley is adapted to the purpose of some special narrator, and given a reason for existence by being represented as the place where loyal lovers may be tested.

¹ *Claris et Laris*, vv. 3548-4142.

The two gallant knights, Claris and Laris, journeying through Broceliande, hear toward nightfall sounds of music from all manner of unseen instruments. A maiden comes toward them and bids them, if they wish shelter for the night, come with her. She leads them to a lovely valley, long and broad, adorned with fine dwellings, from which music as sweet as that of Paradise is heard. Claris and Laris are taken to a wonderfully beautiful palace where they are greeted by twelve fair ladies. One of them in reply to a question from Laris tells him that she is a fay, Morgain, the sister of Arthur, and that her companions are fays, *qui la gent par le mont feoient*. The knights shall be treated with honor and shall have every wish gratified, but they can never leave the valley. Claris is loud in his expressions of indignation, but Morgain assures him that, when she and her sisters created the enchantment, they did not know that he and Laris were coming. The knights remain sad at heart. Laris, however, succeeds in ingratiating himself with Madoine, one of the fays, from whom he learns that there is a certain small stone made by necromancy that closes the entrance to the valley; he who turns this stone may find his way out. Laris and his companion avail themselves of this information and secretly depart.¹

This is substantially the same valley as the Val sanz Retor. It is true that in Broceliande Morgain does not surround her abode with a mist nor offer thrilling adventures to the stranger. It is no place for testing a hero's qualities; it is simply an other-world valley, the attractions of which, as they are set forth in the verses that I have cited above, are closely parallel to those of Morgain's more famous valley in the prose romances. *Claris et Laris* is a late romance,² quite late enough for the author to have derived his material from the *Lancelot*; but if he were working from the *Lancelot* he was stripping his original of its most prominent features, and retaining the name of the mistress, as well as elements characteristic of other-world habitations, whether they are islands, castles, or valleys. In view of the sort of treatment that the *carole* and chessboard received, it is more reasonable to see here the account of an other-world valley associated with Morgain, which was made by some narrator into a fidelity test for Lancelot's benefit, and was used by the author of *Claris et Laris* as a suitable feature to work into the scenes that he was placing in Broceliande, which Wace even in his day knew was the haunt of fays.³

¹ Cf. vv. 28,968-29,355; 29,386-29,443. ² *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 124.

³ *Le Roman de Rou*, ed. Andresen, Heilbronn, 1877-79, II, vv. 6409, 6410. Cf. *Claris et Laris*, vv. 3290 ff.; 3317-3319; *Yvain*, v. 189, note; *Brun de la Montaigne*, vv. 496 ff.

There is another valley mentioned in the prose romances that is of the same general character as the Val sanz Retor. This is the Val des Faux Soulas which is described in the *Roman de Palamedes*.¹

The Val des Faux Soulas is a valley of surpassing loveliness, the home of singing birds, green and fresh even in mid-winter :² *il ne avoit en tout le val noif ne gelee, et sembloit que May fust venuz en celuy lieu . . . cilz est lieu de paradis au semblant*. The valley is the site of two towers situated on opposite banks of a stream, one inhabited by knights, the other by ladies, between whom there has been unfortunately a long-standing feud, which has been suppressed by Galehout le Brun, who in behalf of the ladies by force of arms compelled the knights to agree never to cross the river in the lifetime of their fair enemies, and to fight in equal numbers the knights who should come to defend them. The knight Danain for love of one of the ladies undertakes to act as their defender, but he is an unsuccessful champion, and being defeated is forced by the knights to fight against the ladies' future champions. When this state of affairs has lasted for ten years Danain is rescued. Then it is evident that the scene has been the result of enchantment : — *si devint la vallée aussi seche et aussi froide comme l'autre pays*.

Although the episode is unmistakably late, it shows the kind of story that formed one of the elements in the tradition of the Val sanz Retor.³ For that the episode of the Val sanz

¹ See Löseth, pp. 463, 465, § 639 a ; Rajna, *Fonti*, p. 166. Cf. the other-world valley described in *Lanzelet*, vv. 3971 ff.

² For the birds of the other world see *Bran*, §§ 7, 20 ; *Ép. Celt.*, I, 200 ; *Mabinogion*, III, 126 ; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 253, 390 ; *Erec*, vv. 5755 ff. ; *Yvain*, vv. 459 ff. ; *Perceval*, vv. 15,442 ff.

For other-world flowers and gardens see *Bran*, §§ 6, 39, 43 ; *Erec*, vv. 5739 ff. ; *Bel Inconnu*, vv. 4205-4246. Cf. Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, ch. iv, section vi.

³ In the *Lai de la Rose a la Dame Leal* (ed. Paris, *Rom.*, XXIII, 1894, 117 ff.), which is contained in the fourteenth-century romance of *Perceforest* (cf. for MSS., editions, and dates, Paris, *Rom.*, XXIII, 78-85), there are reminders of the same class of stories that we have been examining, although the *Lai de la Rose* is essentially connected with a wide-spread theme of a different nature (see Paris, *Rom.*, XXIII, 102 ff. ; Köhler, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, VIII, 1867, 44-65).

A certain duke of Great Britain was lord of the Val aus Vrais Amans.

Nus ne maint la qui son penser n'estraigne
Contre tous maus que vraie amours n'adaigne.

(vv. 4, 5.)

Retor is a concoction and does not represent simple or early material is obvious. It seems improbable, however, that we owe its composition to the author of the *Lancelot*, because in an earlier part of his romance¹ he introduces an episode that is plainly similar to that of the Val sanz Retor; and the natural conclusion is that he had one model before him for both accounts.

During Arthur's war with Hardogabran, King of the Saxons, he falls a victim to the wiles of the beautiful Camille,² the sister of Hardogabran, who by her blandishments succeeds in winning his passionate love, and getting him altogether under her control. With promises of her love she decoys him to her tower, the Roche aus Saisnes, and then imprisons him in her dungeon. Her next step is to send a maiden to court with word that Arthur is in danger. Gawain, Lancelot, Hector and Galehaut follow the damsel to Camille's tower, and as a result they also are taken prisoners. Camille throws an enchantment upon the door that fastens it securely. Captivity and separation from Guinevere reduce Lancelot to such a state of frenzy that Camille sets him free; the Dame du Lac restores him to his reason, and he forthwith sets out to rescue Arthur. By using the ring given him by the Dame du Lac, which has the power of overcoming all enchantment, he enters Camille's tower, routs her knights who oppose his course as he passes through room after room, until he reaches the chamber where Camille sits with her *ami* Gadresclain. To make a long story short, Lancelot kills him, and frees Arthur and the imprisoned knights. In a subterranean vault they find a maiden beloved by Gadresclain, whom Camille in furious jealousy has kept in confinement bound to a pillar.

His fair daughter, Lisane, marries a young knight, Margon, who is compelled by sundry misfortunes to leave his bride and enter the service of king Perceforest. As a parting gift Lisane gives him a case in which *par subtil art* she has placed a marvellous rose, which will never wither so long as she remains loyal to her husband. Two knights at the court of Perceforest, who are jealous of Margon, discover the secret of his rose, and plan to steal Lisane's affection from him. They visit her in his absence, and with each in turn she makes assignation to meet in a certain tower at night. Each suitor after waiting for the lady in the tower finds that he is imprisoned there, and must pass his time in spinning and winding thread. They are kept at their disgraceful task until Margon returns home, and sets them free. The same story is also told in a shorter form in prose in the *Perceforest* (for a summary see Paris, *Rom.*, XXIII, 99 ff.), but without mention of the Val aus Vrais Amans. Paris (p. 101) has indicated the probability that both versions are derived from a common source.

¹ Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 48, 55-57, 66, 80-83; Ulrich Fürterer, *Lanzelet*, ed. Peter, Tübingen, 1885, pp. 90-93.

² Camille is mentioned as an enchantress who is able to succor the Saxons in the *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 134; *English Merlin*, pp. 176, 185; *Arthur and Merlin*, vv. 4438 ff.

The maiden bids her rescuers seize Camille's book and chest, if they would thwart her power. The enchantress, realizing that all is lost, takes her own life by flinging herself from the Roche aus Saisnes.

This episode is a working over and fusing together of two main themes:—Arthur's stay with a dangerous enchantress, from whose power he is rescued by one of his knights,¹ and Lancelot's unspelling quest. If the author had before him the same source which he may have been following in his account of the Val sanz Retor, the irrelevancies of the situation are accounted for. The presence of Gadresclain and the unhappy maiden, the object of Camille's jealousy, who are forced into the story, is explained, as well as Lancelot's madness and Camille's consent to his release. For after Lancelot has dispelled the enchantment of the Val sanz Retor, he falls a victim to the wiles of Morgain,² and escapes finally from her power

¹ See pp. 19, 20.

² The wiles that Morgain practices upon Lancelot are commonplace, and are not paralleled elsewhere in her history. We are constrained to regard them as simple padding, used by the author as an easy way to round out his narrative and give greater proportions to the theme of Lancelot's love for the queen.

When Morgain has Lancelot conveyed to her dwelling in the forest after he has performed the adventure of the valley, her intention is to gratify the hatred that she has cherished for Guinevere and Arthur ever since her separation by the queen from her cousin, whom Morgain loved. She promises to release Lancelot from his captivity provided he give her a certain ring that Guinevere had given to him, which closely resembles one that Morgain herself owns. Finding that all her efforts to persuade him to give it up are vain, she allows him to go to the adventure of the Tour Douleureuse, on condition that he return to her when his task is accomplished. With him she sends one of her maidens as a guide. As they fare on their way, the maiden tries to arouse Lancelot's love, but her blandishments are all alike unavailing. When at last by her persistent forcing of her seductions upon him, he is compelled to threaten her with his sword, she confesses that she has done all at the command of her mistress. Thus peace is made; Lancelot performs his adventure, and returns to Morgain. The fay renews her attack upon the ring by giving Lancelot a soporific draught, and while he sleeps exchanging her ring for the queen's (cf. Morgain's exchange of a false sword for Excalibur, above, p. 14). Then she sends one of her damsels to court with a trumped-up story that shall betray Guinevere's love for Lancelot, in proof of which the damsel is to produce the ring. The plan is a dismal failure, for the queen defends herself, and nobody believes the story. Lionel goes forth in search of Lancelot. He meets a maiden who offers to be his guide. On the way he climbs a tree to view the landscape o'er, and espies Lancelot being led by armed sergeants from a court into a fair meadow. Lionel descends to tell the news, but neither he nor his friends can ever again find the tree (cf. p. 87). Morgain, meanwhile, persists in harassing Lancelot. By means of a spiced potion she

only by promising her that he will absent himself from court for a year. Overcome by the nature of his promise, which cuts him off from all chance of seeing Guinevere, his reason gives way, he wanders about in madness in the forest, and but for the Dame du Lac's kindly care, he would have remained the hopeless victim of frenzy.

The author is simply applying an episode twice to the same hero,¹ but in the story of Camille he varies with commonplace details what he probably knew first as an other-world situation.

Morgain's part in the episode of the Val sanz Retor is certainly not conspicuous, although she is the creator of the valley. She is simply the enchantress who has bespelled the region. Any other powerful fay would serve the purpose just as well as she. But in so far as the test for loyal love is applied to Lancelot by Morgain's agency, we are dealing with material that might have been attached to the Morgain saga at any time after the stories of her hostility to Guinevere and of Lancelot's love for Guinevere were established.

How then are we to regard the induction to the episode? There are two forms, as our summary has told us. The earlier of the two is doubtless that given in the prose *Lancelot*. In the early story of Arthur and Morgain that I have postulated, we have seen that the mortal wife interferes with the love of the hero and the fay. Quite probably this same theme is elaborated in the *Lancelot* into the story of the mortal damsel of whom the fay is justly jealous, and is used as a suitable introduction to the narrative, the conclusion of which sounds the praises of the true lover. There is an episode that tells of a fair maiden who suffered enchantment at the hands of Morgain and the Queen of Norgalles because they were jealous of

causes him to dream that the queen has given her love to a certain young knight, against whom he would have drawn his sword but for the queen's interfering word. Morgain lays his sword beside him, so that when he wakes he may be fully convinced of the reality of his dream (cf. *Perceval*, I, 7; for deceptions in sleep see below, p. 208, note). In despair he wins his release by promising to shun for a year the king, as well as the knights and ladies of the court. For the sequel see below, p. 196; see also Löseth, § 41.

¹ On the repetition of themes in the career of Lancelot see Jessie L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, London, 1901, pp. 100, 101.

her beauty.¹ There is no means of knowing the exact relation of these two stories to each other, but, if we accept the hypothetical original, we may reasonably suppose that the theme of the enchanted lady suggested here the special punishment of Morgain's unhappy rival.

In the treatment of this maiden we have again a parallel to Court of Love material. Andreas Capellanus describes a punishment inflicted by the God of Love upon mortals who are

¹ See *Malory*, Bk. XI, ch. 1 :— When Lancelot arrives at the castle of Corbin he is hailed as the deliverer of the lady within the tower, who "ever boileth in scalding water," and whom Gawain has failed to deliver. The iron doors of the chamber where she is imprisoned unbolt for him; "so Sir Lancelot went into the chamber that was as hot as any stew and took the lady by the hand." She had been given her punishment by enchantment of Queen Morgan le Fay and the queen of Northgalis, because she was called the fairest lady of the country, and she had been in the tower for five years. The prose *Lancelot* also gives the story of Lancelot's rescue of the maiden, though without mention of Morgain (see *Malory*, III, 191; cf. *Lancelot*, vv. 3593 ff.). The account of Gawain's effort to rescue the maiden is found in Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 256, 306:— Gawain arrives at a fair castle, from within which he hears the piercing cries of a woman; he enters, and finds in a marble tank a damsel standing up to her waist in boiling water. She entreats him to lift her out, but his efforts to do so are in vain, and she tells him that she must suffer there till the best knight in the world comes to deliver her; her punishment for a former sin is not yet great enough. Sommer (*Malory*, III, 192) shows that the minor inconsistencies and discrepancies in the first two of the passages mentioned above indicate that they are derived from a common French source.

This French source, or one kindred to it, is evidently responsible, directly or indirectly, for Morgain's part in *Pulzella Gaia*, an Italian poem belonging probably to the fourteenth century, and representing, so far as I know, the only independent treatment of Morgain material preserved to us in mediaeval Italian literature.

Pulzella Gaia is Morgain's beautiful daughter (cf. *Tavola Ritonda*, I, 295, 300, 487), the fairy love of Gawain, who, by complying with her demand that he tell her his name, has unspelled her from serpent shape. She promises to grant his every wish provided he does not reveal their love; but on his boasting of her at a tourney at court, she is compelled to surrender herself to *la savia Morgana*, who imprisons her in a tower, where she must stand waist-high in water, and suffer transformation into fish-shape below the waist. Gawain sets out in quest of her, forces his way into *Pela Orso*, Morgain's castle where *Pulzella Gaia* is imprisoned, draws the maiden from the water, puts Morgain in her place, and with his love, transformed, let us hope, from her fishy estate, rides merrily off to Camelot. The lady of the prose versions, who in consequence of Morgain's wrath stands waist-high in boiling water, the victim of a magic spell that Gawain seeks in vain to break, is certainly in a similar predicament to that of *Pulzella Gaia*. (For confinement in a red-hot iron chamber as a punishment, see *Mabinogion*, III, 112 ff.) The transformation to mermaid shape may possibly have been induced by the story of the fay Melusine, whose mother inflicts substantially the same penalty

not his worthy subjects,¹ which is very like that bestowed by Morgain upon the maiden who unwisely returned Guiomar's love. Within the domains of the God of Love, according to Andreas, there is a meadow arranged in concentric circles. In one circle, flooded with intensely cold water and beaten upon by the rays of the burning sun, those women who have loved without discrimination must abide after death.² Since Morgain's punishment has the allegorical tone characteristic of the Court of Love material, and not of Celtic tradition, it seems likely that here we have an illustration of the way in which themes of all kinds are used by the romancer, and an evidence that his work is not to be characterized as Celtic in every detail.³

Before leaving this part of the story, we may recall to mind that transformation by enchantment is one of the means employed by the Morrigan to avenge a personal affront. This the milkmaid Odras is said to have learned to her sorrow. She went in pursuit of a cow that the Morrigan had taken to her own domains. "Still on fared Odras, in the track of her cow, towards the elf-mound of Cruachu. Sleep fell upon her in the Oakwood of Falga, and the Morrigan awoke her and upon her (see Couldrette, *Mellusine, Le Livre de Lusignan*, ed. Michel, Niort, 1854, vv. 2940-3186, 3835-4228).

In a modern Breton folk-tale we find practically the story of Pulzella Gaia told of a daughter of a Margot-la-Fée. This unfortunate daughter is metamorphosed into a snake on a certain day in the year. The Margot-la-Fée, her mother, entreats a peasant to go to a designated point on the road, at which he will find a snake which she bids him cover with a basin. To clinch matters he sits down on the basin when he has done her bidding, and remains seated all day. In the evening he raises the basin, and finds the most beautiful maiden in the world, who is willing to give him a rich reward (see Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la H. Bretagne*, I, 109). I have met no other tradition told of both Morgain la Fée and a Margot-la-Fée; but, although belonging to an ordinary type of incident, this example adds a trifling weight to the probability that the Margot-la-Fées and Morgain are connected, and that a common story of Morgain's bespelled daughter whom a knight released is at the foundation of the Italian poem and the Breton folk-tale of to-day.

¹ See *Andreas Capellani regis Francorum De Amore*, ed. E. Trojel, Copenhagen, 1892, pp. 101 ff.

² Cf. *ib.*, p. 104; see *Rom.*, XXIX (1900), 87, 88.

³ An other-world plain is described in the *Tochmarc Emire* (see *Rev. Celt.*, XI, 1890, 447), on one half of which men freeze fast, while on the other they are raised on the grass. But this cannot be called a parallel tradition to that of the maiden in the valley.

sang spells over her, and made of Odras a pool of water which entered the river that flows to the west of Slieve Bawne (the Shannon)."¹

The *Livre d'Artus, P.* connects the foundation of the valley with Morgain's love for Guiomar.² In this respect, according to Freymond,³ it offers material that lies nearer the original than does the *Lancelot*, in that the theme appears of the mortal, Guiomar, retained by the fay in her domain. It is well, however, to observe how the author of the *Livre d'Artus, P.* treats his sources. In the *Lancelot*, the object of the special adventure upon which Lancelot is engaged at the time when he went on his excursion into the Val sanz Retor is the release of Gawain from the Tour Douloureuse. The episode of the Val sanz Retor is merely incidental to this. The knight who can put an end to the enchantment of Ascalon le Tenebreus⁴ is he who will accomplish the adventure of the Tour Douloureuse. The knight who can perform the adventure of lifting from a certain river the bodies of two guiltless lovers who have been drowned there, is he who will be able to rescue Gawain from the Tour Douloureuse.⁵ In the *Livre d'Artus, P.* it is said that only he can break the spell of the Val sanz Retor who has successfully accomplished the adventure of Ascalon le Tenebreus; and he who cannot perform the adventure of the valley will not succeed in taking from the water the bodies of the two guiltless lovers, nor in accomplishing the adventure of the Tour Douloureuse. In other words, in the *Livre d'Artus, P.* we have a chain formed from episodes that stand in comparatively unconnected sequence in the *Lancelot*. In the *Lancelot* also, these adventures are related in full; in the *Livre d'Artus, P.* that of lifting from the water the bodies of the guiltless lovers is merely mentioned, although the other adventures are given at some

¹ *Rennes Dindsenchas*, 113, translated by Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XVI (1895), 65; see also VI (1883-1885), 255.

² With the tradition told here that Morgain created the valley by means of arts learned from Merlin, cf. the account of the beautiful valleys surrounded by an invisible, impassable wall built by Manannan mac Lir for the Tuatha dé Danann, which is contained in the *Legend of Eithne (Book of Fermoy)*, a fifteenth-century manuscript; see Todd, *R. I. A. Irish MSS. Series*, I, i, 46.

³ See *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XVII (1895), 16 ff.

⁴ See Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 229-233; 278-282.

⁵ See *R. T. R.*, IV, 307, 308.

length. Neither does the *Livre d'Artus, P.* like the *Lancelot* relate a tale of the attempted achievement of the adventures by Galeschin and Yvain. Evidently the author of the *Livre d'Artus, P.* is connecting parts disconnected in his source. He is modelling his material, we know, on both the *Lancelot* and the *Merlin*,¹ and in telling the story of Guiomar with the Val sanz Retor as a sequel he may be simply combining two stories, and identifying the Val sanz Retor with the other world, Avalon, where Guiomar dwelt with Morgain and ruled as lord.

At all events we may say with confidence that if at one stage the story told of Morgain and Guiomar represented her as taking her lover back to the other world, there was not connected with it, unless as a late addition, an unspelling quest performed by a faithful lover. The fay does not properly take her lover to the other world to await the coming of a knight who shall break a spell that holds him there ; she takes him there for an unending life of delight, or as the maintainer of her "custom." In either case there is no convenient place for a mortal *amie*. It is owing to a combining of several elements by the author that we have the episode of the Val sanz Retor, which is valuable in the present study not because of light that it casts upon early conditions, but because it represents Morgain distinctly as an other-world queen, vindictive and jealous, although with very little personality in the episode itself.²

¹ See Freymond, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XVI (1892), 96-98, 103; *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XVII (1895), 5-6, 15, 16.

² Other references to the Val sanz Retor are to be found in *Le Conte de la Charrette*, ed. Jonckbloet, The Hague, 1850, p. 16; Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 298.

CHAPTER VIII

MORGAIN IN THE HORN AND MANTLE TESTS

MORGAIN had other means for testing the fidelity of mortals beside a mist-enclosed valley. Discriminating objects that detect in mortals the presence or absence of certain graces are commonplace in folk-lore.¹ For the mediaeval story-teller a ring, a shield, a glove, a bridge, a girdle, a mirror, or, what you will, served almost indifferently as the residence of the same magic power. All alike may be able to discern one special virtue or failing. Among the enchanted objects that are potent as fidelity tests in romantic material, the two that appear perhaps more often than any others are the *Cor enchanté* and the *Manteau mautailé*, the virtue of both of which Morgain occasionally uses to effect a malicious purpose. Obviously it would be almost impossible to find the stories dealing with one of such similar tests uninfluenced by those told of the other, and in the great variety of versions and the multiplicity of correspondences between those of either class, fruitless perplexities attend an effort to untwine one wholly from the other. An elaborate examination of the two tests and of the versions in which they are embodied has been made by Warnatsch.² His results greatly facilitate a study of Morgain's part, to which he gives only a cursory notice; and his conclusions are in the main simply to be extended in determining the position in the Morgain saga occupied by the episodes that bring her into connection with these widely diffused themes. Two Italian texts³ omitted by

¹ For collections of such tests see Child, *Ballads*, I, 257 ff.; V, 212; Grässe, *Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte*, Dresden and Leipzig, 1837-1859, II, iii, i, 184-187; Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1850, III, lxxxv-xc; *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, VIII, 44-65; Rajna, *Fonti*, p. 579. For a brief bibliography on the subject see Warnatsch, *Der Mantel* (*Germanistische Abhandl.*, II), Breslau, 1883, pp. 55-60. Additional examples are given below, pp. 112, 128.

² *Der Mantel*, Breslau, 1883.

³ *Tristano* and *Tavola Ritonda*.

Warnatsch should be included among those versions in which Morgain has a place. It is with the horn test that she is the more frequently associated; in fact there is only one version of the mantle test in which she appears, whereas six represent her as the owner of the dangerous horn. Of these latter the two typical sources are the French prose *Tristan* and *Malory*.

Tristan.¹ The knights Lamorat and Driant, faring on their way, meet a knight under orders to bear to Arthur's court an enchanted ivory horn, from which only a faithful wife can drink without splashing the wine. He refuses to tell the name of the sender, but after Lamorat has unhorsed him, he admits that it comes from Morgain, whose object in sending it is to force Guinevere into a betrayal of her love for Lancelot. Lamorat who wishes to make trouble for King Mark sends the knight with the horn to him. Iseult and the other ladies of the court are subjected to the test, and all but four spill the wine. Iseult with protestations of her innocence suggests that a knight break a lance in her defence, but Mark rejects the idea. He and his barons hush the matter up, and decide that the test is worthless.

Malory.² Here again, Sir Lamorat and Sir Driant meet a knight sent by Morgain to Arthur; "and this knyght hadde a fayre horne harnest with gold." The description of the virtue of the horn and also Morgain's object in sending it to court agree with those in the other accounts. "And by force sire Lamorak made that knyghte to telle alle the cause why he bare that horne | Now shalte thou bere this horn sayd Lamorak vnto kyng Marke or els chese thou to dye for it." The knight bears it to Mark and tells him of its peculiar quality. "Thenne the kynge maade Quene Isoud to drynke therof | and an honderd ladyes | and there were but four ladyes of alle tho that dranke clene | Allas saide kynge Marke this is a grete despyte | and sware a grete othe | that she sholde be brente and the other ladyes | Thenne the Barons gadred them to gyder and said playnly they wold not haue tho ladyes brente for an horne maade by sorcery that came from as fals a sorceresse and wytche as tho was lyuynge | For that horne dyd neuer good but caused stryf and debate | and alweyes in her dayes she had ben an enemy to alle true louers | Soo there were many knyghtes made their auowe | and euer they met with Morgan le fay that they wold shewe her short curtosye."³

¹ Löseth, § 47.

² Bk. VIII, ch. 34.

³ The same story is told with certain differences in the Italian *Tristano* (pp. 153 ff.), and also in the *Tavola Ritonda* (I, 157 ff.). These Italian versions differ from that of the French *Tristan* in the following particulars:—

1. Driant is not mentioned.
2. The horn is the most beautiful in the world, made of silver, harnessed with gold, according to *Tristan*: made of ivory chased with gold and silver, in the *Tavola Ritonda*.

The episode is obviously composed of two strata, and either the introduction telling of Morgain's gift and its malign intent is prefixed to an independent story of a test of Iseult at Mark's court, or a conclusion relating the sequel to Morgain's scheme against Guinevere is attached to characters of greater prominence in the Tristan romances than are Guinevere and Lancelot. That the latter is the correct view to take of the situation is evident from a comparison with the earliest bit of literature that we possess embodying the horn theme. This, as is well known, is the *Lai du Cor* of Robert Biquet, which according to its editor, Wulff, should be dated probably no later than the

3. In *Tavola Ritonda* the bearer is named Tramondo Ughiere.

4. In *Tristano* there are two contests between Amorratto (Lamorat) and the bearer of the horn; the first agrees with that in the *Tristan*, the second is intended to force the knight to carry the horn wherever Amorratto bids him. In *Tavola Ritonda* only this second contest is mentioned.

5. Isolda and [in *Tristano*] three hundred and sixty-five ladies [in *Tavola Ritonda* six hundred and eighty-six] are subjected to the test; all but [in *Tristano*] two [in *Tavola Ritonda* thirteen] are found guilty.

6. Mark commands that all the guilty be burnt at the stake.

7. Mark revokes his decision on the declaration of [in *Tristano*] a baron of Cornovaglia that the adventures (*sic*) of Logres are not worthy of serious consideration, and that his own wife is innocent; [in *Tavola Ritonda*] Dinasso the seneschal, that the enchantments of Logres deserve contempt.

While in *Malory* and *Tristan* two knights — Lamorat and Driant — encounter the bearer of the horn [in *Tristano* and *Tavola Ritonda*, Lamorat alone], and four ladies are found innocent [in *Tristano*, two, *Tavola Ritonda*, thirteen], it is only in these insignificant details that *Malory* agrees with *Tristan* where the latter differs from *Tristano* and *Tavola Ritonda*. In the following points *Malory* and *Tristano* agree, and differ from *Tristan*: —

1. The horn is of silver (*Malory*, fayre), harnessed with gold. In *Tristan* the horn is of ivory.

2. The knight takes the horn to Mark only after a second contest in *Tristano*. There is a threat of a second contest in *Malory*: "Now shalt thou bear this horn unto king Mark or else choose thou to die for it." In *Tristan*, the knight obeys Lamorat without a word.

3. Mark commands that the guilty ladies be burnt; a baron in *Tristano*, barons in *Malory*, interfere. In *Tristan*, Iseult proposes a champion; the king and barons by mutual consent dismiss the question.

It is evident that all three versions are to be traced to the same source, and that *Tristano* and *Malory* here are derived from the same French source, which was not the manuscript of the *Tristan* that Löseth is summarizing (cf. *Malory*, III, 286). The version of the *Tavola Ritonda* is undoubtedly derived from the *Tristano* from which, though it differs slightly, it shows no divergences that cannot be accounted for by the characteristic freedom of its compiler in handling his material.

middle of the twelfth century, and which shows clearly more primitive features than any other existing version.¹

The scene is laid at a brilliant Pentecostal feast at Arthur's court. A fair youth enters the hall bearing a magic horn of ivory, which he presents to Arthur as a friendly gift from the king of Moraine. The horn has been so enchanted by a fay that no man whose wife has been untrue to him even in thought may drink from it without splashing his breast with the wine that it contains. The king at once puts the gift to the test, calls for wine and drinks, but spills the liquor. He seizes a knife and is about to stab the queen, but Gawain, Cadain, and Iwain prevent him. The queen in distress offers to prove her innocence by the ordeal of fire. Arthur, however, is determined that all shall try the horn, and when he finds that none present can drink without splashing and sees the queen's blushing amazement, he recovers his good temper and declares that the horn is a noble gift. Caradoc, a valiant knight, alone drains the cup without spilling a drop. *Femme avoit molt leal*. Arthur gives him Cirencestre as a reward and also the horn, which is kept there on exhibition at festivals.

Thus in the early story neither Morgain nor Iseult is mentioned, and the scene is laid at Arthur's court, the appointed destination for the horn in the *Tristan* and kindred versions. But in spite of the difference in its localization, the account of the test at Mark's court bears indications that the original from which it is derived was a working over of the story that we know through Biquet's lay. The horn in this original was doubtless, like that in the lay, made of ivory harnessed with gold; the interference of the knights with the king's movement to stab the queen had very likely become the advice of the barons to treat the matter lightly; Guinevere's offer to undergo the ordeal by fire probably had a place there, and appears as Mark's command that Iseult and her companions in guilt be burned at the stake; the king's recovery of his good humor develops into Mark's sudden decision that the enchantments of Logres are of no account.

Evidence that this part of the story had reached some such stage while it was still attached to Arthur and his queen, before it was incorporated in the supposed source of our versions, is supplied by a *Fastnachtspiel* of the fifteenth century.²

¹ Ed. F. Wulff, Lund and Paris, 1888; see p. 27. Cf. Child, *Ballads*, I, 262; Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, p. 60.

² Ed. Keller, *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Nachlese, Stuttgart, 1858, No. 127.

The play opens with a conjugal dialogue between Arthur and the queen, who are making a list of the proper guests to be invited to a feast at court. They have decided to summon certain crowned heads of Europe, when the queen suddenly remembers that they have omitted the king's sister, the queen of Cyprus. Arthur, however, positively refuses to include her among his guests : —

Wan sy gross wider mich han taun
Darumb ichs nit wil laden laun.¹

The queen of Cyprus, who is well aware of all that is going on, angry at the insult, sends to court by one of her maidens a magic horn out of which only he whose wife is constant can drink without spilling the wine. Her own name is to be concealed from the king, and the maiden is to tell him merely that it comes *von ainer werden künigin frey*. The virtue of the horn is set forth in an inscription chased upon it.

Arthur is the first to test the gift; he splashes his breast with the wine, bursts into a passion with the queen, and threatens to strike her. Weigion (*Gawain*)² remonstrates with brevity and soothes the king's wrath. The guests drink in turn, and all find their wives guilty except the king of Spain, who is immediately presented by the king with congratulatory gifts. The maiden in the meantime returns to the queen of Cyprus, who fancies with high glee the dissension that the horn will cause at court. After the test is completed Ajax accuses Weigion of disloyalty to the king with the queen; the two knights forthwith defy each other, break lances, and are separated by the king, who announces that the horn has occasioned evil which all had best forget in merrymaking : —

Desgleich ir herren, tantzt mir nach all
Und springent frölich auff mit schall.³

¹ P. 191, v. 15.

² See Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, p. 67.

³ P. 227, vv. 15, 16. In the *Orlando Furioso* (canto xlii, st. 70-73, 97-104; canto xliii, st. 6-44), Warnatsch suggests, there may be preserved the same lost version of the story that was known to the author of the *Fastnachtspiel* (see *Der Mantel*, p. 89; cf. Child, *Ballads*, I, 265; Rajna, *Fonti*, p. 578). Here Morgain's goblet is given to Rinaldo in an enchanted palace by a knight, who bids him drink as a test of his wife's constancy. Only he who has a faithful wife can drink from the goblet without spilling the contents. The enchantress Melissa had presented it to the knight with the words : —

Io ti darò un vasso
Fatto da ber, di virtù rara e strana,
Qual già, per fare accorto il suo fratello
Del fallo di Ginevra fe' Morgana.

(Canto xliii, st. 28.)

This version stands nearer the original material than do the *Tristan* and the allied sources in that men drink to test their wives, and the women are not obliged to convict themselves; but, although the story of the goblet and its connection with Rinaldo's host is long, the reference to Morgain is too brief to allow an exact decision as to what source, or sources, Ariosto had before him.

Clearly in general outline and content the *Fastnachtspiel* stands nearer the original material than do the Tristan romances. The resemblances, however, between the *Fastnachtspiel* and the latter indicate that they represent two redactions of the same ultimate French source,¹ that reached the author of the *Fastnachtspiel* either directly in the French or indirectly through a German medium. In this source the men probably put the horn to the proof;² the queen, like Iseult, may have craved a joust in her defence, which in the fifteenth-century text is represented by the contest that actually takes place between Ajax and Weigion; the story probably ended with the king's careless dismissal of an unpleasant subject.

Although Morgain does not appear elsewhere as the Queen of Cyprus, there can be no question that the king's malicious sister who owns the marvellous horn is none other than she. An earlier source containing the same incident is a *Meisterlied* by Conrad von Würzburg.³

The *Meisterlied* tells the story of a feast at Arthur's court at which seven kings with their wives are the guests. They are with one exception the same monarchs that appear in the *Fastnachtspiel*.

A maiden enters bringing an ivory horn with an inscription in golden letters telling of its magic properties, and presents it to the king from her mistress. Arthur tests it, finds that the queen is guilty, and in a fury is about to strike her when Yban prevents the blow. The guests try the horn, but the king of Spain alone is successful. Arthur gives him the horn and showers congratulatory gifts upon him.

Warnatsch⁴ shows that the *Meisterlied* and the *Fastnachtspiel* doubtless go back to a common Middle High German original, which naturally was treated by Conrad von Würzburg in a more condensed form than by the author of the *Fastnachtspiel*. But the text is unreliable at the very point where it has most interest for us, namely the verse that gives the name of the

¹ See Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, p. 68.

² See below, p. 121, note.

³ Ob. 1287. The *Meisterlied* is contained in a fifteenth-century manuscript published by Zingerle under the title *Das goldene Horn* in Pfeiffer's *Germania*, V (1860), 101 ff. A somewhat different text with the title *Dis ist frauw tristerat horn von Saphoien* is published by Bruns, *Beiträge zur kritischen Bearbeitung alter Handschriften*, Brunswick, 1802, pp. 139 ff.

⁴ *Der Mantel*, p. 68.

sender of the horn. That of the so-called Wilten manuscript published by Zingerle is unintelligible :—

Euch santz mein frauw in der . . . aus der Syrneyer lant.

The last two words Zingerle amends to *Syrenen lant*. The text of the Hamburg manuscript published by Bruns, which is evidently the work of a second redactor,¹ reads :—

Es schickt uch schon frau tristerat
her uss von Saphoer lant.

Frau Tristerat is an altogether obscure personage. Her home, however, *Saphoer lant*, brings to mind the province of Lorraine, Savoie, which we know during the eleventh century was identified with the neighboring district of Maurienne,² an early name for which was Morienna.³ This is suggestively like *Moraine*, the name of the country from which the horn came according to Biquet's *Lai*; with this name, moreover, Morgain is indirectly associated, for it is the form used by Lazamon for Moray, the territory in Scotland assigned by the early sources to Urien, Morgain's husband.⁴ Hence, despite the danger of a conjecture resting on a conjectural basis, we are not entirely without reason for suspecting that in the source from which both *Meisterlied* and *Fastnachtspiel* are derived the horn came from Moraine and that the sender was Morgain, who possibly from a lack of familiarity with her name on the redactor's part disappears entirely in Conrad's poem, and in the *Fastnachtspiel* is given a new name, just as the crowned heads of Europe take the place of the early knights of Arthur's court.

Why Cyprus should be selected as the land over seas of which the fay was queen is not altogether clear. Warnatsch thinks that a confusion between Morgain and Melusine may account for it :— “ Die Verwandlung der Fee Morgane in eine

¹ See Warnatsch, p. 68.

² See Longnon, *Atlas Historique de la France*, Paris, 1885, Pl. XI, XII ; *Texte*, p. 224, cf. 228 ; Wace, *Brut*, v. 3439, note.

³ See *Recueil des historiens de France*, V, 772, cited by Longnon, *Texte*, p. 142 ; *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Berlin, 1877–1898, I, 331 (cf. p. 315), 508.

⁴ Lazamon, *Brut*, vv. 22,160, 22,178, *MS. Cott. Oth. C. XIII* reads *Morayne(s)*. Cf. Skene, *Four Anc. Books*, I, 59 ; *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. IX, ch. ix ; Wace, *Brut*, v. 9865.

Königin von Zypern beruht wol auf einer Verwechslung mit der (in Deutschland besonders durch das Volksbuch des Thüring von Ringoltingen) bekannten Fee Melusine, deren Sage in dem frz. Hause Lusignan (in Cypern nach der Eroberung durch Richard Löwenherz herrschend) heimisch war."¹ But Melusine and Morgain are very unlike in their histories and attributes, and the probability of such a confusion may be questioned. In the *Meisterlied*, after Arthur receives the horn, we read according to Zingerle,

Künig Artus hies schenken ein den klaren zyper wein ;²

according to Bruns,

Konig Artus hiess es schencken vol
Des claren zyppar wine.³

Wine from Cyprus as a royal beverage requires no explanation, and who shall say that it was not this feature in the original that influenced the author of the *Fastnachtspiel* to make the distant home of the lady of the sea⁴ who owned the magic drinking horn, the far-away island of Cyprus, from which the wine came?

How did Morgain come to be connected with the story? As we have seen, she does not figure in the *Lai du Cor*. The bearer of the horn according to Biquet presents his wonderful gift to the king with these words:—

De Moraine li reis
qui proz est e corteis
vos enveie cest cor
qu'il prist en son tresor.⁵

Round the horn runs an inscription in letters of gold and silver:—

Ço vos mande Mangons⁶
de Moraine, li blons.⁷

The name of Saint Mungo (i.e. Kentigern) of Glasgow appears as Mangon in asseverations in Guillaume le Clerc's romance of *Fergus*,⁸ but this gives us no assistance in identifying

¹ *Der Mantel*, p. 67, note 2.

² P. 103, st. 4.

³ P. 141.

⁴ See *Fastnachtsp.*, p. 197, v. 19.

⁵ Vv. 123–126.

⁶ According to Wulff's restored text. The manuscript reads *Mangouns*.

⁷ Vv. 221–222.

⁸ Ed. Martin, Halle, 1872; see vv. 486, 823, 845; cf. p. xxii.

the owner of the horn. Of *Mangon*, Wulff says, "ce nom . . . rappelle *Morgue*, *Morgain* (méchante fée, sœur d' Artu)." ¹ It recalls, too, and more forcibly perhaps, the name of the famous Celtic enchanter, Mongan, whose history is contained in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*,² and about whom stories at least as old as the eighth century exist.³ He is noted for his power of shifting his own shape as well as of transforming that of others.⁴ He possesses the resources of rich fairy knolls,⁵ and is generously disposed in sending gifts to kings.⁶ He is the son of Manannan mac Lir, god of the sea, who visited his mother in the absence of her husband, Fiachna Lurga, king of Ulster, and when Mongan was three nights old took him away to the Land of Promise, where he kept him under his tutelage until he was a lad sixteen years of age.⁷ In the Land of Promise Manannan had in his possession a magic drinking-vessel, a touchstone for truthfulness. This we know through an allusion to Manannan's cup in the *Oided mac n Uisnig* (*Death of the Sons of Usnach*),⁸ and also through the *Echtra Cormaic* (*Adventures of Cormac*),⁹ a tale preserved in the *Book of Ballymote* and the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, which tells of Cormac's summons to the other world by Manannan. Here, among other striking experiences, he saw that "a cup of gold was placed in the warrior's hand. Cormac was marvelling at the cup, for the number of forms upon it and the strangeness of its workmanship. 'There is somewhat in it still more strange,' says the warrior. 'Let three words of falsehood be spoken under it, and it will break into three. Then let three true declarations be under it, and it unites again as it was before.' " When Cormac left the Land of Promise, Manannan

¹ See Wulff, *Lai du Cor*, p. 45, note ; cf. *Rom.*, XIV (1885), 349.

² Ed. with translation by K. Meyer in Meyer and Nutt, I, 42-90.

³ See Meyer and Nutt, I, 139 ; II, ch. xiii ; *Zs. f. celt. Phil.*, II (1898-1899), 319.

⁴ Meyer and Nutt, I, 24, § 53 ; cf. 77, 82. ⁵ Id., I, 54 ff.

⁶ Id., I, 74.

⁷ Id., I, 72-74 ; cf. *Bran*, § 57 : —

Moninnan the son of Ler
Will be his father, his tutor.

⁸ See Stokes and Windisch, II, ii, 163.

⁹ Id., III, i, 183 ff., 203-221.

gave him the marvellous cup, but at his death took it back into his own possession.¹

In the extant versions of the horn test, either the owner of the magic horn is not mentioned, as in the *Livre de Caradoc* preserved in the *Perceval*,² and also in *Renard le Contrefait*,³ or its possessor is said to be Morgain or Mangon, as in the versions cited above, or according to *Diu Crône*,⁴ a sea-king. Heinrich von dem Türlin, as Warnatsch shows,⁵ was probably not using the *Lai du Cor* as a source, but a version akin to it. The horn, he tells us, was the work of a magician of Toledo, and was brought to Arthur by a dwarf covered with scales, riding on a monster of the sea. He presents his gift with the words:—

Dar umbe hât mich her gesant
Ûz dem mer küneec Priure.⁶

Although Heinrich is using material extraneous to the lay, there is here a confirmation of the theory that Mangon, the owner of the horn, is only a distortion of Mongan, whose original nature as the son of the sea-god was not forgotten in Heinrich's source, which attributed the possession of the horn to a sea-king. There is a logical fitness in the situation that our versions give us; if we regard it as the development from such an origin. Mongan, by right of his sonship to Manannan, might very properly become in story the owner of the marvellous drinking-vessel that could be used as a test of faith.⁷ A mediaeval horn frequently did duty as a goblet, and furthermore since by virtue of his connection with the sea,

¹ Id., III, i, 215. Cf. a later text translated by O'Grady, *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, III, 227. A false story told before the cup breaks it into four bits; a true story welds them together again. Cf. also Stokes and Windisch, III, i, 209, for the crystal vessel of Badurn, made in a fairy mound, which separates into three parts if three lies are uttered under it, and reunites for three truths.

² Vv. 15,672–15,772.

³ Ed. Tarbé, *Poètes de Champagne antérieurs au S. de François I^{er}*, Reims, 1851, pp. 79 ff. (see p. xii for date of poem, ca. 1368); *Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait*, ed. Wolf, Vienna, 1861, pp. 7–9.

⁴ Vv. 466–3189; see especially vv. 1090 ff. ⁵ Pp. 112, 113.

⁶ *Diu Crône*, vv. 1012, 1013.

⁷ On the community in attribute and episode between Mongan and Manannan see Meyer and Nutt, II, 13 ff., especially 17.

Mongan, or Manannan, like old Triton, might justly be regarded as having a "wreathed horn," it would be appropriate, and not at all strange, if this goblet in some versions became a drinking horn.

A confusion between the names of the shape-shifter Mongan¹ and the fay Morgain (*Morgan*) is undeniably one of the easiest conceivable blunders in either an oral or a written source. There is indirect evidence that such a confusion may have taken place at a time previous to the composition of Biquet's lay, and that this confusion is responsible for more than one story that has become attached to the fay's name.

If we turn from the Irish tale of Mongan's youth and upbringing to the altogether unique account of Morgain's early days contained in the *Auberon*, known as the *Prologue to Huon de Bordeaux* and undoubtedly written later than the poem to which it contains the introductory material, we find a striking similarity in the two histories.²

Morgain, the sister of Arthur, was stolen in her infancy by a fairy king, a wise master of all enchantment, who kept her for ten years in his domains and taught her his arts. He owned a magic horn, which he gave to Morgain at his death, and which became a valuable part of her dower, greatly coveted for Julius Caesar by his doting parents, who represent to their son that the ownership of the horn is a special advantage attendant upon his marriage with the maiden. One of Julius Caesar's valued possessions also is a goblet that he had received from his mother, Brunehaut, a queen in fairyland, which eventually comes into the hands of Auberon, who receives the famous horn as well from his mother, Morgain.

The poem in itself is so late as to be unreliable as a source for primitive tradition, but a further examination of

¹ Mongan's shape-shifting was one of his most familiar characteristics. See *Zs. f. celt. Phil.*, II (1898-1899), 318. In the so-called *Fragmentary Annals* (published without assignment of date, *Silva Gadelica*, I, 390 ff., translated II, 425), we have a euhemeristic description of the enchanter: "Certain dealers in antiquarian fables do propound him to have been son to Manannan, and wont to enter at his pleasure into divers shapes, yet this we may not credit: rather choosing to take Mongan for one that was but a man of surpassing knowledge, and gifted with an intelligence clear and subtle and keen." For Morgain's power of shape-shifting emphasized in our earliest accounts of her, cf. pp. 8, 151.

² See *Auberon*, vv. 1211-1235, 1319-1342, 1451-1498, 2147. The *Auberon* is contained in a fourteenth-century manuscript in the *Biblioteca Nazionale* of Turin, and is dated by its editor Graf tentatively after 1230; see *Auberon*, p. iv. Cf. *Huon de Bordeaux*, pp. xlix ff.; *Rom.*, vii (1878), 333.

the material at our disposal shows that this story of Morgain may not be dismissed without hesitation as simply the result of a late romancer's fancy.¹ Morgain's horn in the *Auberon* is not a drinking-vessel. It can be heard when sounded by all the vassals of the owner wherever they may be, and with it twenty thousand armed warriors may be instantaneously summoned.² The goblet, when it is touched by the owner, will be filled with a limitless amount of wine.³ Neither is said to have any power in discerning moral qualities. For a more primitive description we must turn to the *Huon de Bordeaux*. Here we learn that Auberon, *le petit roi faé*, the child of Morgain, owns a magic horn of ivory, the sound of which is potent when the horn is blown by Huon, because he is a *preudhomme*;⁴ he has a golden goblet which he can fill with wine by making a circle thrice about it and the sign of the cross over it, but which loses its magic properties when not in the hands of a *preudhomme*, or of a man who is absolutely truthful.⁵

If we put side by side the description of the magic horn or goblet used in the versions of the horn test, the earliest of which assigns it to Mangon, and that of Auberon's magic horn and goblet, in spite of the differences in the uses of the horns, similarities come to light that are not without significance. We have another version of the horn test which Warnatsch has shown⁶ is derived from a common original with the *Lai du Cor*. In the *Livre de Caradoc*, which is inserted in the first continuation of the *Perceval*,⁷ this version is added as a fitting sequel to the story of Guimer, Caradoc's devoted wife,

¹ See Paris, *Rom.*, VII (1878), 332: "M. Graf a fort bien reconnu qu'il n'y a dans Auberon aucun élément traditionnel: c'est le simple développement, à l'aide d'une imagination fort pauvrement douée, des indications sur le roi de féerie contenues dans *Huon de Bordeaux*."

² Vv. 1226, 1230.

³ Vv. 1330-1340. Cf. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 111.

⁴ Vv. 3705 ff. For examples of magic horns the blast of which will bring instant aid to the sounder, see *Charles le Chauve*, *Hist. Litt.*, XXVI, 106; Child, *Ballads*, V, 2; will protect the sounder from harm, see *Chevalier au Cygne*, ed. Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1846, I, vv. 2287-2290; Child, *Ballads*, III, 122; will excite love, see *Id.*, *ib.*, I, 15, 55, 360; will bring a thousand soldiers, if the sounder blows in the small end, if in the large, none will be seen, Campbell, I, 195. See also for magic horns Mannhardt, *Germanische Mythen*, Berlin, 1858, pp. 118 ff.

⁵ Vv. 3667-3734.

⁶ Pp. 62 ff.

⁷ Vv. 15,672-15,772.

who gladly underwent physical suffering in order to rescue her husband from the serpent that was destroying his life. Hence the account is told in a more condensed form than in the lay and moves directly to its end, namely the glorification of Caradoc and his wife. Neither the sender of the horn nor its origin is mentioned. Details, however, not contained in the lay are given here, notably for our purposes, the power that the horn is said to possess of turning water into wine.

Comparing then these four sources, Biquet's lay, the *Livre de Caradoc*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, and *Auberon*, we find verbal similarities in the description of the appearance of the horn :¹—

Lai du Cor, vv. 33–36.

En sa main tient un cor
a quatre bendes d'or
Li cors esteit d'ivoire
entailliez de trifoire.

Perceval, vv. 15,679–15,682.

À son col ot pendu .I. cor
D'ivoire à .IIII. bendes d'or,
Plaines de pières préieuses
Moult clères et moult vertuouses.

Huon de Bordeaux, vv. 3229, 3230.

Et ot au col .I. cor d'ivoire cler ;
A bendes d'or estoit li cors bendés.

(Cf. vv. 3359, 3369, 3705, 3714, 3831, 4039.)

Auberon, vv. 1221–1225.

.I. cor avoit qui doit estre chieris,
D'iuoie ert fais, blans est con flours de lis,
Bendes est d'or triphones et polis ;
Bien uaut li cors l'auoir de .IIII. cis,
Car il est tex qu'estre ne puet pieris.

Auberon, vv. 1319, 1320.

Son cor ares qui est d'iuoie cler,
Et de fin or trifonies et bendes.

Furthermore, both the horn of Mangon and that of Auberon are the work of fays, who have given them a *destinée*.² The

¹ Some of the following resemblances between the *Lai du Cor* and *Huon* have been pointed out by Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, I, Halle, 1900, pp. 128, 129.

² See *Lai du Cor*, vv. 46–52, 223, 224 ; *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 3231–3249.

horn in the lay is adorned with marvellously sweet fairy bells;¹ the sound of Auberon's horn induces the hearer to forget discomfort.² When Mangon's messenger sounds the horn in Arthur's court, the hearers lose their self-control, the servitors stand immovable, the seneschals totter and stumble, he who is cutting bread cuts his finger instead of the loaf. The sound of Auberon's horn also forces the hearers to act contrary to their will.³ A touch of the finger arouses the virtue of the horn in the *Lai*, of Auberon's horn, and of Morgain's goblet in the *Auberon*.⁴ In the *Perceval* water that is poured into the magic horn becomes wine of which there is enough to satisfy the thirst of all present, however many they may be; Auberon by a magic pass and the sign of the cross can fill his goblet with wine sufficient for all the living and all the dead.⁵ Moreover Auberon's goblet serves the same purpose as King Mangon's horn, namely, to test the loyalty of the drinker. Auberon gives it to Huon promising that if he can drink from it, the goblet shall be his; Huon drinks, and Auberon at once pronounces him *preudhomme*.⁶

Hues, biau frere, dist Auberons li ber,
Si m'aït Dix, preudhomme t'ai trové.⁷

Huon himself employs it to try the faith of his uncle, Oedon,⁸ and of the Saracen, Gaudise,⁹ and this same goblet at Auberon's instigation passes from hand to hand at a feast at court to test the honor of the emperor and his barons.¹⁰

¹ For fairy bells see Child, *Ballads*, I, 320; *Perceval*, vv. 31,789-31,791; *Lanzelet*, vv. 362, 363.

² *Lai du Cor*, vv. 61-64.

Ainceis vendreit uns hom
une liue a peon
que [n] eüst lor oïe;
qui s'ot tot s'en oblie.

Huon de Bordeaux, vv. 3236-3239.

Qui le cor ot, çou est la verités,
S'il a famine, il est tous asasés,
Et s'il a soif, il est tous abevrés.

³ *Lai du Cor*, vv. 79 ff.; *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 3240-3243. Cf. vv. 3359-3395. *Auberon*, vv. 2396 ff. For spells cast by fairy music, see Stokes and Windisch, IV, i, 237, 265; Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, p. 117, note; Kittredge, *Am. Journ. of Phil.*, VII (1886), 187; above, p. 91; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 142 ff., 188.

⁴ See *Lai*, vv. 53-55; *Huon*, v. 3268; *Auberon*, v. 1332; cf. *Huon*, v. 3654.

⁵ See *Perceval*, vv. 15,690-15,698; *Huon*, vv. 3652-3666; *Auberon*, vv. 1330-1340.

⁶ Vv. 3644-3701. Cf. Rajna, *Fonti*, p. 579; Child, *Ballads*, I, 265, note.

⁷ Vv. 3691, 3692.

⁹ Vv. 6594-6610.

⁸ Vv. 4221-4232.

¹⁰ Vv. 10,195-10,235.

These parallels might be explained perhaps as the result of convention, which uses stereotyped phrases in the description of similar objects,¹ and ascribes well known resemblances in the power of enchantment to the handiwork of fays or magicians. But it may also be said that they show the horn and goblet attributed in one source to Morgain and her husband, and in another to their child,² to have many common attributes with the fidelity horn.

We have seen reason to suspect that at one point in story Mongan had a cup similar to Manannan's, and that this cup became in some versions a drinking horn;³ the next step showed that owing to an easy confusion between Mongan and Morgain a horn and a drinking vessel like his may have been assigned to her; hence they are found also in the hands of her son Auberon. If tradition thus provided one personage with a

¹ Cf. for example the golden goblet described in *Horn et Rimenhild* (ed. Michel, Paris, 1845), vv. 935 ff.

Il ad cel jor porté une cupe d'or fin;
Unches n'urent meillur Cesar ne Costentin:
Triffuire ert entaillie de bon or melekin.

Note that the bells of the horn in the lay were made in the time of Constantine (v. 48), and that Morgain's horn comes into the possession of Caesar.

² In the *Auberon* it is quite obvious that the author is making his material go as far as possible, and is reproducing one theme as often as his temerity allows. The story of Brunehaut, Caesar's mother, for example, is evidently a bit of patchwork, part of which is like the early life of Morgain. She owns a magic goblet and hauberk, which she presents on separate occasions to her son (vv. 1067-1079, 1329-1342), and a bow, which she presents to Auberon (vv. 2395-2405). With these scenes and that in which Morgain gives her horn to her son, we have in the *Auberon* four presentations of magic gifts by fays to their descendants. Both the bow and the hauberk resemble enchanted objects in Auberon's possession in the *Huon de Bordeaux* (cf. *Auberon*, vv. 2395-2402 with *Huon*, vv. 3241-3243; cf. *Auberon*, vv. 1067-1074 with p. 128 below), and it is evident that in the *Auberon* the author is simply distributing among several personages the belongings of one in the earlier poem; but that he is doing this entirely on his own authority is scarcely a probable assumption, since the resemblances that we have observed indicate a stage in tradition when the goblet as well as the horn may have been assigned to Morgain.

³ The Celtic origin of the fidelity horn in the lay is emphasized by Rhys's theory that the name *Bonoec*, given to the horn in the *Livre de Caradoc*, is derived from the Welsh word *bannog*, which appears in the name of two fabulous oxen, Ychen Bannog, associated with the district about Llandewi in Cardigan. See *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 695, note on pp. 579, 580. See *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 229, note 2.

Benjamin's portion of drinking vessels, there might naturally be substituted for the horn's magic qualities in such a capacity those that it exhibited when sounded.¹ In the *Lai du Cor*, Mangon is king of Moraine. Mongan is associated with Ulster in Celtic material, especially with Rathmore of Moylinny.² Morgain, however, is, as has been said above, the wife of Urien, king of Moraine. If *Mangon* is *Mongan*, in his association with a province of the same name as that with which Morgain is indirectly connected we have possible evidence that a confusion in the names had arisen before Biquet's time and that Morgain had already become related to this theme.

Although both the horn and mantle may be used, as they are in the stories of Guimer and Iblis,³ for the sake of extolling the worth of one fair lady, they may quite as well be sent to court by a fay with malicious designs against some one particularly obnoxious to her. There are only two personages about whom the interest of such a test naturally centers, one the constant wife, the other the lady highest in rank and therefore the most conspicuous of those tested; all others are on one plane. Hence when a story is told about the discerning object, it must either have for its end primarily the fair fame of the devoted wife, or the shame of the highest lady. Let tradition once establish an animosity of Morgain toward the queen, an easy weapon for the fay to use against her would be the magic horn which by a confusion of names may have been assigned to Morgain.

This brings us to a point where, since we have seen a possible reason why Morgain's name came to be connected with the horn at all, we are better able to consider the value of the tradition contained in the *Fastnachtspiel* that the malicious sister sent the horn because of a slight that she had received. This theme sounds with an altogether new note in Morgain's history. In one other source, the *Manteau mal taillé*,⁴ a late prose rendering of the *Conte du Mantel*, contained in a sixteenth-century

¹ The effect that this may have had upon the Auberon legend will be treated in the next chapter. On the interlacing of the qualities of the horn and goblet see Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, I, 126.

² See Meyer and Nutt, I, 44, 49.

³ See *Lanzelet*, vv. 5746 ff.; cf. Paris, *Rom.*, X (1881), 477.

⁴ Ed. Legrand d'Aussy, I, 126 ff.

manuscript of no authority,¹ Morgain sends to court a mantle that will fit only the constant wife. In doing this she is actuated by hatred of the queen, whose beauty she envies, and of whose love for Lancelot she is jealous, since she loves him herself, "qui fut cause la faire conspirer sur la reine et toutes ses dames, telle chose dont la feste fut despartye, et par aventure si la reine l'eust fait semondre à celle feste, l'inconvenient jamais ne fust advenu."²

These are the only instances in the Morgain material where she is represented in the very ordinary mood of a fay who, piqued at some real or fancied slight of a trivial kind, visits the offender with dire punishment;³ and in both of these sources it is implied that the relations between Morgain and the court had previously been ruffled. Morgain's hatred of the king and queen rests, we may feel assured, upon the deeper ground that we have seen existed, — nothing less than the interference with the course of her love for a mortal which had a place in early material. As soon as the love between the queen and Lancelot had become an established fact in romance,⁴ Morgain's hatred would inevitably be represented as seeking ways to wound Guinevere in this her most vulnerable point, and by no means more effectively than by the magic horn. So that while we may regard Morgain's connection with the horn as early, and even her use of it against the queen as possibly a story of no late date engendered by the queen's separation of her from her lover (Arthur, Guio-mar), the desire to reveal the love between Guinevere and Lancelot should be considered a later element in the material. The statement in the *conte* that Morgain loved Lancelot does not by any means stand alone, but is supported by the episodes that have been discussed above, treating of Lancelot's retention in the other world. There is little doubt, then, that the motive of the slighted fay is not indigenous to the Morgain saga, and that it is to be regarded as the importation of an ordinary folk-lore theme into late material, perhaps producing an accidental agreement in two sources, or perhaps

¹ See Wulff, *Rom.*, XIV (1885), 349.

² Legrand d'Aussy, I, 129.

³ See pp. 130, 253, 276.

⁴ Cf. Paris, *Rom.*, X (1881), 476, 477, 486 ff.

indicating by its appearance in the *Manteau mal taillé* that the author of the *Fastnachtspiel* was not responsible for attaching it to the story. It is quite possible that the element of anger at omission from the feast may have entered the horn test through some version of the mantle test, in which the sender is not infrequently a fay, though never Morgain except in the late *conte*.¹

Evidence that the gift to Arthur of a dangerous mantle was attributed to Morgain before this source is afforded by a story in the *Huth Merlin*² and *Malory*.³

In these versions Morgain's hatred of Arthur has been roused by his having slain her lover Accalon. In *Malory* it is said, and in the *Huth Merlin* implied, that Morgain wishing to take vengeance upon Arthur for the deed sends to him a mantle of such a nature that he who first puts it on will fall dead. Arthur has been warned of the fatal character of the gift by the Dame du Lac, and by her advice insists that Morgain's damsel shall be the first to wear it. The instant that she slips it over her shoulders she falls dead. Arthur has a pyre built and the maiden's body burned.

This story shows resemblances to the *Conte du Mantel*,⁴ the *Manteau mal taillé*, and the version of the mantle test considered by Warnatsch as the earliest that we have, namely that contained in Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*.⁵ In these sources a fay sends to court, by a varlet in the French versions, by a maiden in the *Lanzelet*, a costly mantle which is either too long or too short for all the ladies assembled, except for her who is the faithful wife. In the *Huth Merlin* the maiden draws the mantle from a silver box; in the *Manteau mal taillé* from a velvet box with a silver lock. In the *Huth Merlin* she tells Arthur that the sender is "la plus vaillans damoisele et la plus biele que je sache orendroit el

¹ On the confusion between the two tests cf. Child, *Ballads*, I, 262, note; Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, pp. 55 ff.; Rajna, *Fonti*, pp. 577 ff. Possibly in the debased form of the horn test that the *Tristan* records, according to which the women use the horn, there is to be seen the influence of the mantle which is put on by the women of the court.

² II, 250-253.

³ Bk. IV, ch. 15, 16.

⁴ Ed. Wulff, *Rom.*, XIV (1885), 358-380. The text probably dates from the end of the twelfth century, and is evidently based upon a version derived from a common source with the *Lai du Cor*. See *Rom.*, XIV, 344, 355; Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, p. 60; Child, *Ballads*, I, 262, note.

⁵ Vv. 5746 ff. See Warnatsch, p. 69.

monde, chou est la damoisele de l'isle faee. Et por chou que elle vous a oi prisier seur tous les rois qui soient orendroit el monde vous envoie elle un garnement si chier et si riche que a painnes le porriés vous prisier." In the *Lanzelet* the sender is a *wîse merminne*; in the *Conte du Mantel*, *une pucele de mout lointain païs*; in the *Manteau mal taillé*, *une très haulte dame qui moult vous aime*. In the *Huth Merlin* the mantle is "de drap de soie si biel et si riche par samblant que se vous le veissiés, vous ne cuidissiés mie qu'il euust el monde si riche et si vaillant." In *Malory* it is "the rychest mantel that euer was sene in that Courte | for it was sette as ful of precious stones as one myght stand by another | and there were the rychest stones that euer the kynge sawe." In the *Lanzelet* the mantle is iridescent, embroidered with flowers and fruits. In the *Conte du Mantel* it is more beautiful than any ever seen by man, or than can be described. In the *Manteau mal taillé* it is the most beautiful ever seen in England, purple and gold, embroidered with pearls, diamonds and rubies. In the *Conte du Mantel* the object of the story is to exalt Caradoc's wife; in the *Lanzelet* the mantle is sent by the *merminne* who is his protectress to Iblis, his wife.

It is in the termination of the story in the *Huth Merlin*, therefore, that we find different material from any that we meet in the sources where the enchanted mantle is used as a constancy test. It is true that in a Gaelic version of the mantle test,¹ a poem contained in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, a compilation of the early sixteenth century, the story takes a fatal turn. Conan, whose wife dons the white seamless robe, when he sees that it does not fit her, immediately slays her with his spear. Morann Mac Main's truth-testing collar produced more serious physical results than the tests which we have been considering, since it would close around the foot or hand of a false person until it had cut the member off.² But these instances are scarcely to be placed with the fatal robe of Morgain. It has been compared with Deianira's

¹ See *Zs. f. celt. Phil.*, I (1897), 294 ff.; *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd series, IX, 39.

² See Stokes and Windisch, III, i, 190, 208. On the Bocca della Verità at Rome, which bit off the finger of a perjurer, and on similar ordeals, cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Leipzig, 1899, II, 560.

and Medea's poisoned robes,¹ but the lack of similar details forbids our seeing in the French source more than a reminder of these classical themes. We may with probability regard the version of the *Huth Merlin* as fashioned after a version of the mantle test, but given a fatal ending, perhaps because it is death that Morgain is seeking to avenge. For our purpose the episode has importance because it supplies an indication, as I have said, that Morgain's name was connected with the mantle test before the late *conte*, and that she sent the robe in anger at the loss of her lover. Since we have seen reason to believe that Morgain's connection with the horn test is early and rests upon an early misunderstanding, it appears probable that her association with the mantle is a reflection of the theme that made her the sender of the horn.

¹ See Cox and Jones, *Popular Romances of the Middle Ages*, London, 1871, p. 40.

CHAPTER IX

MORGAIN AND AUBERON

— Auberon, le petit roi sauvaige,
Que tout son tans conversa en boscage.
Chil Aubérons, que tant ot segnoraige,
Sachiés k'il fu fieus Juliien Cesare.
.
Jules ot feme une dame moult sage,
Morge ot à nom, moult ot cler le visaige ;
Cele fu mere Auberon le sauvaige,
Si n'ot plus d'oirs en trestot son éaige.

Huon de Bordeaux, vv. 6-18.¹

A PERSONAGE like Auberon, to whom tradition has awarded Julius Caesar for a father and Morgain la fée for a mother, may be supposed to come justly by a composite nature. Auberon is not known in French literature previous to the *Huon de Bordeaux*.² Here he is depicted as a little king of faërie, who dwells in a wood that men consider perilous owing to his magic power. He owns a wonderful horn and goblet, both of which he gives to Huon, who has to pass through the forest on his way to adventure, and who wins the abiding love of the fairy king by his nobleness and loyalty. Auberon appears before us first in a *rôle* resembling that of the *hôte incommode*, who figures in *Syre Gawene and the Carle of Carelyle*,³ the *Chevalier à l'Épée*,⁴ and two Italian *canzoni* of the fourteenth century⁵; he has the same power of creating illusions by

¹ Cf. vv. 3492-3495; 10,379-10,382.

² For the date of composition see p. 7, note 1; cf. Paris, *Rev. Germ.*, XVI (1861), 379 ff.; *Rom.*, XXIX (1900), 215-217; G. Paris, *Poèmes et Légendes du Moyen-Age*, Paris, s. a., pp. 29 ff.

³ See Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, London, 1839, pp. 187-206; cf. pp. xxxi, 256-274, 345.

⁴ Ed. Armstrong, Baltimore, 1900; see vv. 184 ff.; cf. *Rom.*, XXIX (1900), 595 ff.

⁵ See *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, I (1877), 381-387; *Rivista di Filologia Romanza*, II, ii (1875), 221-227; *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 68.

The guest of the *hôte incommode* is, in some versions, warned that if he enters a certain castle he will never return. When he becomes a guest in the castle, he

magic as Merlin and many another enchanter;¹ yet although he owes not a few of his supernatural gifts as well as his dwarfish stature to the destiny given him at birth by fays,² he ascribes his power to Jesus,³ and prefers his appointed seat in Paradise to the joys of faërie.⁴ Thus with his other-world attributes as fairy king and enchanter there is mingled a churchly influence,⁵ which indicates that the material is not in its pure original form.⁶ All that is appropriate here is to ascertain, if possible, what significance should be attached to his connection with Morgain, as perhaps the most important, certainly the most attractive, of her reputed children.⁷

The origin of Auberon's name has been made the subject of extensive discussion, and his relation to Alberich, the dwarf of German legend, as well as his position in the story of *Huon de Bordeaux*, carefully examined.⁸ Little has been said

discovers that the lord has the habit of beating or killing those who do not give implicit obedience to his orders. He who renders the required obedience is rewarded by valuable gifts from the host, even the hand of his daughter. Huon, before entering the dangerous wood whence none return, is warned that if he speaks to Auberon he will never leave the dwarf's domains. In reality he learns that the risk for him lies in not obeying Auberon's orders. By refusing to heed Auberon's command to speak, his life is endangered, and only by compliance with his host's bidding that he return his greeting can Huon escape death at Auberon's hands. Obedience, on the contrary, brings a rich reward (see vv. 3456, 3479-3489). On the friendship of Huon and Auberon see Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, I, Halle, 1900, p. 125. For a collection of episodes dealing with the *hôte incommode*, and a brief discussion, see *Chevalier à l'Épée*, ed. Armstrong, pp. 67-69.

¹ See Schofield, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XVI (1901), 419, note 1; cf. also *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 253; *Huth Merlin*, II, 149 ff.; Maury, *Les Fôrets de la Gaule*, Paris, 1867, p. 332.

² Vv. 3497-3562, 10,388-10,403.

³ V. 3711.

⁴ Vv. 10,453-10,458.

⁵ See Hummel, *Archiv f. Studien der neueren Sp.*, LX (1878), 307 ff.; Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, I, 263. Note the sign of the cross with which Auberon blesses his goblet, *Huon*, vv. 3648-3659.

⁶ See Graf, *Auberon*, pp. xx, xxi; Lindner, *Ueber die Beziehungen des Ortnit zu Huon de Bordeaux*, Rostock, 1872, p. 17.

⁷ Cf. G. Paris, *Aventures Merveilleuses de Huon de Bordeaux*, Paris, 1898, pp. ii, iii.

⁸ For a bibliography on this subject see Gautier, *Bibl. des Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1897, pp. 61, 132 ff.; Nyrop-Gorra, *Storia dell' Epopea francese*, Turin, 1888, pp. 112 ff., 448. See also Paris, *Rom.*, XXIX (1900), 209 ff.; Becker, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXVI (1902), 265 ff.

about the parentage assigned to him in the poem.¹ Villemarqué² maintained that Auberon and a Celtic fairy king, Gwyn-Araun, are one and the same. "Gwyn-Araun est sorti comme un éclair d'un nuage (*ab nudd*), disent les traditions galloises, et a été nourri par *Morgan*, la magicienne, la reine des fées." He gives no greater authority for this statement, which, in view of the untrustworthy character that Paris has shown³ belongs to Villemarqué's further development of his theory of Auberon's origin, should be dismissed from consideration.

Auberon, however, is not an isolated figure in the pages of romance. In the *Perceval* we have the description of a Petit Chevalier, the defender of an other-world garden.⁴ Gaheriet, all unaware of the fact that he is committing a trespass, enters a certain magic castle, and learns to his regret that he must pay for his intrusion by fighting with a Petit Chevalier in the garden of the castle.⁵

Atant entre li chevaliers
 Qui petis fu, et ses diestriers
 Estoit petis à sa mesure ;
 Içou sambloit une faiture.
 N'estoit mie fais comme nains ;
 Piés et jambes et bras et mains
 Et teste et nés et elx et vis
 Ot bien estans, ce m'est avis ;
 Uns biaux petis chevaliers ère,
 Ne vos puis dire la matère ;
 Savés qu'il avoit sor l'arçon
 Demi pié de bu et plus non ;

¹ See Stimming, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, II (1878), 610; Graf, *Auberon*, pp. x ff.; Hummel, *Archiv f. Studien der neueren Sp.*, LX, 307, 308; Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, I, 124, 251. Paris has recently suggested a reason why Julius Caesar was elected to be Auberon's father. The ancient tower of the Chateau de Mons was called the Tour Auberon as early as 1425. "Une tradition érudite, que des historiens modernes ont cru pouvoir défendre, attribuait (comme le fait Guichardin) à Jules César la première fondation de cette tour, et il est fort possible que ce soit pour cela que, dans notre poème, Jules César est donné pour père à Auberon" (*Rom.*, XXIX, 217, note 2).

² Quoted in *Huon de Bordeaux*, pp. xxii-xxv. Cf. Price, *Literary Remains*, Llandovery and London, 1854, I, 285-286.

³ *Rev. Germ.*, XVI, 384; cf. *Auberon*, p. xviii; Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, I, 251.

⁴ Vv. 21,135-21,724.

⁵ For the conclusion of the adventure see above, p. 89.

Escu ot point et bien burni
Et petite lance autresi,
Et moult avoit rice auqueton
Et portoit petit gonfanon.¹

The analogy is even closer between Auberon and another little knight in the *Perceval*, the *Chevalier Petit del castel de la forest grande*,² one of the many magic castles with which Gaucher de Dourdan delighted to adorn his pages.

Deviser vos voel sa faiture
Si com le conte li escriis :
Il fu nés et engenuïs
En Gales, dont je di les contes.³

The descriptions of this little knight and of Auberon, *le petit roi sauvaige*, *le noble chevalier*,⁴ are very similar, as we may see by placing them side by side.

Perceval : —

Li chevaliers qui là venoit
Ert moult petis à desmesure;
Mais onques nule créature
D'oume et de fame ne fu née
Dont on fesist ains renommée
Ne fu si bele, au mien espoir ;

Moult belement ert atornés,
Se le voir escouter voles,
D'une cote vert de cendal ;
Mais si petis est à cheval
C'uns enfes de .vii. ans sambloit
Mious c'autre chose qui jà soit.

(Vv. 31,682-31,698.)

Huon de Bordeaux : —

Li petis hons vint par le gaut ramé,
Et fu tous teus que ja dire m'orrés :
Aussi biaux fu con solaus en esté,
Et fu vestus d'un paile gironné
A .xxx. bendes de fin or esmeré ;
A fiex de soie ot laciés les costés.

(Vv. 3217-3222.)

Ainc ne vi homme de si grande biauté
Dix ! comme est biaux, qui l'a bien
regardé !

Dix ne fist homme di si grande biauté.

(Vv. 3412-3414.)⁵

Cou m'est avis, par sainte carité
Que il n'ait mie plus de .v. ans pasé.

(Vv. 3421, 3422.)

Auberon : —

Cils Auberon, puis qu'ot vii ans
passes,
Ne crut en haut, ch'ai en escrit
trouve.

(Vv. 1430, 1431.)

¹ Vv. 21,289-21,304.

² *Perceval*, vv. 32,087, 32,088.

³ Cf. vv. 3504, 3508-3511, 10,175-10,177, 10,393, 10,397-10,400.

⁴ *Perceval*, vv. 31,674-31,677.

⁵ *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 6, 26.

The Petit Chevalier is the owner of a beautiful little ivory horn which gives a mighty blast and, like Auberon's, compels an instant response from the hearers.¹ He, too, is a forest knight, who passes his time in the defence of a silver shield that hangs on a tree not far from his castle walls. No knight has ever been able to take it from him, for none can bear it away unless he is not only himself gifted with knightly graces but also has a love who is perfectly constant to him.² The renown of the shield is so great that Arthur with the consent of the Petit Chevalier offers it as a prize at a tourney. Gawain, whose love at that time happens to be Taurée, the sister of the Petit Chevalier, alone is able to win and defend the shield. Auberon was once the proud possessor of a shining white hauberk,³ which at the time of the story told in the *Huon* has been taken from him by the giant Orgileus, who has seized the castle of Dunostre where it was kept. Its qualities are almost identical with those of the little knight's shield, although since there is no question as yet of an *amie* for Huon, who covets the hauberk,⁴ dramatic propriety makes it test the constancy of the wearer's mother, not of his lady. Auberon also is practically the defender of his enchanted cup and horn, and will bestow neither of them upon the hero, until he has met the required tests :—

Nus n'i puet boire s'il n'est preudom par Dé,
Et nes et purs et sans pecié mortel.
Lues ke mauvais i veut se main jeter,
A il perdu du hanap le bonté.
Si m'aït Diex, li rois de maïsté,
Se t'i pues boire, il te sera donné.⁵

¹ *Perceval*, vv. 31,744–31,755, 31,893–31,899; *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 3359–3375, 4481–4498, 6627–6641. Cf. the harp of Finn's dwarf, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 116, 117.

² Cf. *Valentin et Orson*, Troyes, 1726, p. 48, for an enchanted shield made in fairyland and given to the owner by a fay, which cannot be taken from a certain tree except by the knight who is valiant enough to conquer the owner.

³ *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 4574–4588, 5053–5072.

⁴ *Ib.*, vv. 5054–5092; cf. *Auberon*, vv. 1067–1074.

⁵ Vv. 3668–3673. Cf. vv. 3691–3703; also vv. 3704–3708 :—

Dist Aubérons : " Encore atenderés,
Car j'ai çaiens .i. cor d'ivoire cler,
Et por itant preudomme t'ai trové
Et net et pur et sans pecié mortel,
Le te donrai, si aie jou santé."

The little knight from Gales, then, and Auberon are both essentially defenders of fidelity tests, which require virtue on the part of the wearer, and convey additional power to him who wins them.¹

That the class of beings to which Auberon and his brother knights in the *Perceval* belong had a place in Celtic popular tradition is shown by a story that Giraldus Cambrensis reports in his *Itinerarium Cambriae*² as told in his time at Swansea.

A certain worthy presbyter, Eliodorus, who (despite his future dignity) as a small boy was not free from the foibles of youth, once upon a time during his school days played truant. He scampered off to a river's bank, and hid in a hollow near at hand. Here there came to him two little men (*homunculi duo staturae quasi pigmeae*) who led him away to their home in an underground land, mirky but very beautiful. The little men Giraldus describes at some length: — "Erant autem homines staturae minimae, sed pro quantitatis captu valde compositae: flavi omnes, et luxuriante capillo, muliebriter per humeros coma demissa. Equos habebant suae competentes modicitati, leporariis in quantitate conformes.³ . . . Iuramenta eis nulla: nihil enim adeo ut mendacia detestabantur. Quoties de superiori hemisphaerio revertebantur, ambitiones nostras, infidelitates et inconstantias expuebant. Cultus eis religionis palam nullus; veritatis solum, ut videbatur, amatores praecipui et cultores."

Having before us this testimony of Giraldus to a Celtic belief in certain beautiful other-world dwarfs, who hated falsehood and held aloof from the sins of mortals, we can understand why Auberon and the Petit Chevalier from Gales (*Wales*) are associated with tests of truth and constancy, and why Auberon loves nothing so well as *loiauté*. He declares to Huon,

Je vous aim tant por vo grant loiauté
Que plus vous aim c'omme de mere né,⁴

and he informs the emperor,

Si m'aït Dix, li rois de maïsté,
Moult aime droit et foi et loiauté;

¹ See *Lanzelet*, vv. 6197–6199, for the advantages conferred upon the wearer by the fidelity mantle. Cf. *Perceval*, vv. 31,805–31,829 with *Lai du Cor*, vv. 226–250.

² *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. F. Dimock, London, 1861–77, VI, *Itin. Camb.*, Bk. I, ch. 8.

³ Cf. further with Giraldus's description *Perceval*, vv. 21,293–21,295, 31,689–31,692, 31,750–31,753, 32,118–32,120 (see, however, vv. 32,121, 32,122); *Auberon*, vv. 1615–1620.

⁴ *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 3488, 3489.

Pour chou aim jou Huon le baceler,
Car preudon est, et bien l'ai esprové.¹

Morgain and Auberon thus, we see, each by a separate line of tradition became endowed with a truth-testing drinking vessel. There is then perhaps a deeper reason for the legend that Morgain was Auberon's mother than the mere desire to give the dwarf a distinguished family connection. The same principle by which two heroes, Graelemor and Guingamor, were made brothers because of the similarity of their adventures,² may be responsible for the relationship of parent and child that exists between two other-world beings each possessing the same magic object.³ Auberon in this way would justly be made a fairy king. An explanation might then be necessary for the fact that the son of the beautiful Morgain was *petis nains bocerés*, and hence Auberon's tiny stature and deformity are accounted for by the presence of a malicious fay at his cradle.⁴

It is unsatisfactory to leave the question of the relationship between Morgain and Auberon without looking once more at

¹ *Ib.*, vv. 10,405–10,408; cf. vv. 5386–5389; 10,247, 10,448. *Desor ta loiauté, en fine loiauté*, and similar phrases are favorite expressions of Auberon's; see vv. 3576, 3667, 3696, 3698, 3716, 3722, 10,441.

² See *Erec*, vv. 1952–1954; *Bel Inconnu*, vv. 5424–5427. Zimmer, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII (1893), 16; *Lays of Graelent*, etc., p. 126. Cf. also the tradition in Italian sources (*Tavola Ritonda*, ch. vi; *Pulsella Gaia*, st. 95) that makes Morgana and the Dama del Lago sisters.

³ Without entering here upon the vexed question of Auberon's relation to Alberich, the dwarf of Germanic legend, I would call attention to the fact that none of the special attributes in Auberon which are significant in pointing out the possible origin of his connection with Morgain appear in Alberich in the *Ortnit*. Cf., on the Celtic element in Auberon, Paris, *Rev. Germ.*, XVI, 384; *Poèmes et Légendes*, pp. 84 ff.; Stimming, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, II (1878), 610. *Esclarmonde* (pp. 64, 145) and the late prose versions of *Huon* make Auberon's mother the Queen of the Ile Celée, the love of Florimont (see Paris, *MSS. franc.*, III, 26, 27), perhaps owing to the tradition that a fairy queen was his mother; see Paris, *Rev. Germ.*, XVI, 386; *Huon de Bordeaux*, pp. xxi ff.; Graf, *Auberon*, p. xii; Hummel, *Archiv f. St. der neueren Sp.*, LX, 308; Keightley, *The Fairy Mythology*, London, 1850, p. 41. In the fourteenth-century romance of *Ogier le Danois*, Auberon is said to be Morgain's brother; see Dunlop-Liebrecht, pp. 141, 535, no. 20.

⁴ *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 3500–3504, 10,389–10,393. There is not a hint of physical deformity in the little knights whom I have described. It is however unusual to find a dwarf in the romances who is not a humpback (cf. Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, I, 125), and convention appears to have introduced the blemish on Auberon's beauty as a later addition to the characteristics that belong properly to the truth-loving dwarfs.

the accounts of the white hauberk of Dunostre. In *Huon de Bordeaux* Dunostre is a tower by the sea built by Auberon's father, Julius Caesar.

En .XL. ans ne fut pas manouvres.
 Onques si bele ne vit nus hom carnés:
 III^{es} fenestres peut on laiens trover,
 .xxv. cambres a ou palais listé;
 Ains de plus rices n' oï nus hom parler.

At the entrance stand two men of copper each holding a flail of iron with which through summer's heat and winter's cold they deal unceasing blows. Not even the swift swallow can enter and escape death.¹ Figures of metal wielding weapons at the entrance of an other-world castle occur elsewhere,² and once such a device is described at the gate of a castle of Morgain's. The description occurs in the prose *Tristan*³ in the course of a rather flavorless incident. Gifflet le filz Dou comes to the Castle Arès, and finds that his entrance is barred by a knight of metal made *par grant soutiliee*. Morgain had enchanted the castle and sought refuge there, when Tristan was in quest of her.⁴

By a comparison of two other sources we find a second point of resemblance between Dunostre and a castle of Morgain's. One of these is the romance of *Fergus*, written by Guillaume le Clerc, probably in the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁵

Fergus has lost his love, and is told by a dwarf that he can regain her only if he is sufficiently *preu et sage* to achieve the adventure of the marvelously radiant white shield of Dunostre, which renders the wearer invulnerable. The tower of Dunostre is situated on a rock beaten on all sides by the sea; it has but one entrance and this is guarded by an old woman (*la vieille mossue*), who wields a flail of steel a foot and a half broad, with which she decapitates every knight who dares attempt the entrance to the tower.⁶ Further adventures await Fergus before he attains the shield.

¹ Vv. 4553-4570; cf. vv. 4715 ff.

² See below, p. 168, for the description of the pavilion of Aalardin del Lac; *Perceval*, I, 64; Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 155, 196; cf. above, p. 53, note; Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 77 ff.

³ Löseth, § 296 a.

⁴ Of this quest we have no definite information as Löseth (l. c.) remarks; Morgain, however, is hostile to Tristan after he slays her lover Hunison. See Löseth, § 191, pp. 374, 382, 384; *Malory*, Bk. IX, ch. 42, 43; *Tavola Ritonda*, ch. lxxi, cxxiv.

⁵ Ed. Martin, Halle, 1872. See pp. xii, xxiii, xxiv; cf. Paris, *La Litt. franç. au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1890, p. 250.

⁶ Vv. 3734-3739, 3819 ff.

We cannot be sure whether this description of Dunostre antedates that in the *Huon* or not, and there is not sufficient resemblance in the versions to denote interdependence. The contest with the old crone has a wilder character than the figures of the knights of copper, and reminds us of certain Celtic stories in which a hero is enticed into a magic cave, where he has a struggle with a hag, who sometimes gives him a disastrous blow with a druidical club.¹

The second source of which I have spoken is the interpolated text of the *Roman de Thèbes*, known as *MS. S.*²

A tower of Morgain's has become the property of a devil named Astarot, who has assumed the form of a hideous old woman, and propounds the riddle of the Sphinx to all comers. Polinices and Tydeus visit the tower; Tydeus knows the answer to the riddle, and thus is able to put the devil to death. *La vieille sorcière* is said to be completely green, to have shaggy ears that veil her form, red eyes, nails like a lion's claws, teeth like tusks.

La vieille ne fu mie liee,
Ainz fu molt laide et hericie[e].³

In *Fergus*, *la vieille mossue* who demands a contest with every new comer, not being really a devil, is by so much less revolting than this figure, and is described more briefly.

Desus le pont en estant voit
Le vielle laide et hirechie.
Et a son col le fauc drecie.
S'ot les grenons lons et trecies.
Entre deus eols ot bien deus pies,
Les dens agus et sors et les.
Bien sanble aversiers u maufes.⁴

It is always a hazardous matter to base a theory of the relation between sources on descriptions of objects that are commonplace in romance. Just as Odysseus is wily and Æneas pious, so the magic castle and the loathly lady have certain characteristics that are practically their inevitable, or at all events their normal accompaniments.⁵ But it is noteworthy that both Dunostre and a castle of Morgain's are protected by copper

¹ For examples see p. 216.

² The poem belongs to the same period as the *Roman de Troie*; see above, p. 7, note 1; Gröber, *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, Strassburg, 1888-1901, II, i, 582.

³ Vv. 2893 ff.

⁴ Vv. 4075-4081.

⁵ See Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, ch. iv.

knights with weapons, and that Dunostre in one version is guarded by a hideous old crone, and Morgain's castle by a similar figure in another; moreover that this castle of Morgain's, according to the description, is very like her castle Pela Orso, the scene of an adventure in *Pulzella Gaia*,¹ and also Avalon as it is depicted in the *Bataille Loquifer*;² furthermore, Morgain herself appears in the form of a loathly lady in one source, the Middle English poem of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*.³

It would be interesting to know more about the history of Dunostre. In *Fergus* it is characterized by a wonderfully brilliant light, which is attributed to the white shield within its walls. In this respect it bears comparison with Dun-an-Oir,

¹ St. 75 ff. Cf. above, p. 100, note 1.

² Cf. the following passages from the *Roman de Thèbes* and *Bataille Loquifer* : —

Roman de Thèbes, MS. S., vv. 2811 ff.

Un[e] tor i ot grant et l(i)ee
 Qe jadis fu(s)t Morgan la fee.
 Onc hom(me) mais taunt haut[e] ne vit,
 Ffor[s] sol ycel[e] de Habit.
 Une pierre ot sur le portal,
 Onques mais hom ne vit ital,
 Qar uns enfes de quatorze anz
 Le defendreit de mil jaianz;
 Et desoz est le pavement
 Tout entaillié a fin argent.
 D'esmals et de bericles clêrs
 I ot entor trente pilêrs;
 El maistre pan, qe fu davant,
 Ot quatre pierres d'adamant;
 Sus en l'usserie d'or fin
 Sont li novascle en lor latin,
 Et en un safre de colors
 Ffurent paintes toutes les flors.
 Trestoz les chanz qi sont d'oiseals
 Poet l'en oïr par les arceals.

 La tour est tout[e] environ[e]
 Qe pas ne poet estre emane[e]
 D'un lac qe fu granz et parfonz.

Bataille Loquifer, p. 249.

Avalon is far beyond the sea, which
 washes its shores.

Avalon fu mult riche et assazée,
 Onques si riche cité ne fu fondée;
 Li mur en sont d'une grant pierre lée,
 Il n'est nus hons, tant ait la char navrée,
 S'à cele pierre pooist fere adesée
 Qu'ele ne fust tout maintenant sanée;
 Adès reluit com fournaise embrasée.
 Chescune porte est d'yvoire planée
 La mestre tour estoit si compassée
 N'i avoit pierre ne fust à or fondée.
 .V.c. fenestres y cloent la vesprée.
 C'onques de fust n'i ot une denrée.
 Il n'i ot ays saillie, ne dorée
 Qui de verniz ne soit fete et ouvrée.
 Et en chescune une pierre fondée
 Une esmeraude, .j. grant topace lée,
 Beric, jagonce, ou sadolne esmerée.
 La couverture fu à or tregetée,
 Sus .j. pommel fu l'aygle d'or fermée,
 En son bec tint une pierre esprouvée;
 Hom s'il la voit ou soir ou matinée,
 Quanqu'il demande ne li soit aprestée.
 Laiens converse la gent qui ert faëe.

³ Vv. 947-967, 2463. See p. 151 for passages indicating a twofold tradition in regard to Morgain's beauty. There are many examples in Celtic story of a fay's assuming a revolting form in order to test a hero (see *Hist. Litt.*, XXVI, 105; for further examples cf. Maynadier, as above, ch. ii). Possibly the old crone of Dunostre originally was a fay who followed the same practice, and was ready to transform herself into a beautiful damsel at the fitting deed of the knight.

Fort of the Gold, an enchanted golden city described in the Celtic *Lay of the Great Fool* (*Amadan Mor*), to which I have already had occasion to refer. The radiance from Dun-an-Oir shines afar : —

'T was not long till they saw in the valley
A city that shone like unto gold ;
There was no colour which eye had seen
That was not in the mansion, and many more.¹

This beautiful city is closely paralleled in French material by the Ile d'Or in the *Bel Inconnu*,² and by the magic castle, Chef d'Oire,³ in *Partonopeus*, and may fairly be taken as a typical description of that other world to which the Ile d'Or, Chef d'Oire and Dunostre belong, even if we can trace positively no intimate connection between the suggestively similar names of these dwellings. In all of the cases we are dealing with the same type of abode. Each is characterized by unsurpassed wealth of material and color, and one description may very easily be changed with another without altering our conception of the scenes.⁴ At the same time the passages describing Morgain's dwelling appear to be strung on one thread ; and they allow us, if we like to indulge our fancy with the possibilities of romantic narrative, to build up a story in which Morgain in the guise of a hag tested a hero at the entrance to her castle,

¹ *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, VI, 173.

² Vv. 1859 ff. See *Studies and Notes*, IV, 171 ff.

³ Vv. 786 ff.; cf. vv. 1760 ff. The author of the *Partonopeus* says that the castle was named from the river Oire on the banks of which it stood : — *Einsi l'ai fait por ço nommer | C'Oire sort ci et ciet en mer* (vv. 1761, 1762). The editor of the poem, Crapelet (I, lix), explains *Oire* as "un grand cours d'eau," and concludes that since Melior is the heiress of Constantinople the Oire is the Bosphorus. Melior, however, was not the first fay to be rationalized into a princess of Constantinople (cf. below, pp. 156-162), and the name of her dwelling may have been affected by a similar process. According to Paris (*La Vie de Saint Alexis*, ed. Paris and Pannier, Paris, 1872, p. 194) and Berger (*Lehnwörter in der frans. Sprache ältester Zeit*, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 201, 202) *oire*, which survives in the name *Montoire*, is derived from the Latin *aureus*. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was used, Paris says (l. c.), only in the combination *Portes oires*, i.e., the *Portae aureae* of Jerusalem. The author of *Partonopeus* doubtless had some early form before him, and being unfamiliar with it sought an explanation. (On *oire* cf. also G. Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1900, p. 301, note 1.)

⁴ For similar descriptions cf. *Perceval*, vv. 21,135 ff., 26,448 ff.; *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Zielke, Breslau, 1880, vv. 353-374.

which was as beautiful an abode as Avalon, easily confused or identified with such a brilliant place as Dun-an-Oir, and named eventually *Dunostre*.¹

One step more we may take in conjecture. An incident is told of Morgain in the prose romances² in which she is said to be the owner of a shield that she gives to Tristan when he lodges at her castle, bidding him bear it in Arthur's presence at a tourney to which he is bound. The device of the shield is a knight resting his feet upon the head of a king and queen; by this means Morgain intends to reveal to the king the love between Lancelot and Guinevere. This looks like a late development of the stories of the fidelity tests with which Morgain is connected. It possibly points to a tradition in which she, like the Petit Chevalier, owned a shield of the earlier type that would more directly betray the guilty lovers. If such a tradition did exist, it would account for the connection of Morgain's castle, which seems to have been named Dunostre, with the wonderful shield of *Fergus*, and also for its fitting association with Auberon's hauberk after she had been made his mother.

¹ Dunostre has been identified with Dunottar, a castle near Stoneham, by Martin, *Fergus*, p. xx.

² See Löseth, §§ 190-192; *Malory*, Bk. IX, ch. 41; *Tavola Ritonda*, ch. lxxx, lxxxii.

CHAPTER X

MORGAIN, THE SISTER OF ARTHUR

WHERE other-world themes and situations are concerned, the true nature of Morgain may be traced with a reasonable degree of probability, but when tradition seeks to bind her to human kind by family ties, a tangled skein is the result. Morgain's connection with Arthur is primarily romantic and mythical; she should not properly be included among his kindred. To her original connection with him a large proportion of the episodes related of her should be referred, and by it her attitude toward him and toward the queen should be explained. So it is not surprising to find that the most widely emphasized human relationship of Morgain is with the king himself. Beginning with those passages which may be dated with comparative assurance,¹ we find nothing before Chrétien that gives any trace of her mundane kinship. In Chrétien's *Erec*,² in Hartmann von Aue's *Erec*,³ in one manuscript of the *Bataille Loquifer*,⁴ throughout the prose romances, in the thirteenth-century romances of *Floriant et Florete*⁵ and *Claris et Laris*,⁶ as well as in the *Auberon*,⁷ in the fourteenth-century romance of *Ogier le Danois*,⁸ in the *Arthour and Merlin*,⁹ and in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*,¹⁰ she is represented as Arthur's sister. Here and there a confusion in the tradition arises, for Gaucher de Dourdan makes her Arthur's niece,¹¹ the author of *Brun de la Montaigne* Arthur's cousin,¹² and Giraldus Cambrensis refers vaguely to a Morgain who is a kinswoman of Arthur.¹³ The real point of perplexity upon which the records throw no light, is how and why tradition allowed the fairy queen, Arthur's love, the healer of his wounds, to occupy the unromantic position

¹ The lay of *Tyolet* is of uncertain date; hence the reference in v. 630 to *Evain le fils Morgain* is excluded here.

² V. 4218.

³ Vv. 808, 998, 2379.

⁴ See Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 535, no. 20.

⁵ *Perceval*, v. 30, 326.

⁶ V. 5155.

⁷ V. 3663.

⁸ V. 4445.

⁹ V. 3252.

¹⁰ See p. 50, note 2.

¹¹ V. 1211.

¹² Vv. 2464-2466.

¹³ See p. 35, note 2.

of his sister. Giraldus Cambrensis, it is true, gives us the result of one rationalization of the Avalon theme in his account of Arthur's burial by a dignified kinswoman, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that this same tendency went a step farther and converted the kinswoman into a sister. Such a story might have grown up at any time after the identification of Avalon with Glastonbury, but it is altogether questionable whether it would have been sufficiently wide-reaching to account for the strength of the tradition that made Morgain Arthur's sister. Again, though Arthur is not always the victim of propriety, we might perhaps allow ourselves to fancy that he is in this case, and that some scrupulous narrator has transformed his stay with the beautiful fay in Avalon into his sojourn with a sister who tended his wounds. Or we might permit ourselves the conjecture that the broader significance of the old French *suer* (sister) frequently used by a lover to his lady, or a husband to his wife, lies at the foundation of the tradition.¹ Not much can be said in support of any of these ideas, none of which accounts satisfactorily for so persistent a feature in the legend. A confusion that we find actually occurring in early sources supplies a different explanation which appears more tenable.

To form a just idea of the situation we must summon Arthur's sisters before us. According to Geoffrey,² Wace³ and Lazamon,⁴ he had but one, Anna; she is given in marriage to Lot of Londonesia or Leoneis, and becomes the mother of Gawain. By the time of the prose romances the royal damsels have multiplied in number, created probably by tradition as a convenient means of bringing certain kings into a closer relation with Arthur by marriage. Here besides Morgain, Arthur has a sister, Hermisant, who marries Urien of Garlot,⁵ another,

¹ See *Aucassin et Nicolette*, ed. Suchier, Paderborn, 1889, 23, v. 18; 25, v. 15; *Aliscans*, ed. Guessard, Paris, 1870, v. 1936; *Erec*, v. 5834; *Auberon*, v. 1236; *Lai de la Rose*, ed. Paris, *Rom.*, XXIII (1894), 117 ff., v. 40.

² *Hist. Brit.*, Bk. VIII, ch. 20, 21.

³ *Brut*, vv. 9053, 9872, 10,051.

⁴ *Brut*, vv. 19,270 ff.; cf. Gervasius of Tilbury (*Otia Imperialia*), ed. Leibnitz, I, 935, 936; John Fordun, *Scotorum Historia*, ap. Gale, *Historia Britannica, Saxonica, Anglo-Danica Scriptores* XV, Oxford, 1691, I, 635.

⁵ Paris, *R. T. R.* (*Le Roi Artus*), II, 138; *Livre d'Artus, P.*, p. 38, note 1; *Arthour and Merlin*, v. 7627.

Blasine (Basyne), who is given in marriage to Neutre of Sorhaut,¹ and still another, Elaine, who according to *Malory*² was bestowed on Nentre of Garlot; a fourth and nameless sister marries Karadan,³ or Briadas,⁴ and dies. Anna disappears completely from the romances, and although in the various accounts of the giving in marriage of the king's sisters, Lot is said to receive one of them, she is not mentioned by name until the *Arthour and Merlin*,⁵ where it is said that Lot married Belisant; but her name is coupled with *Blasine* and *Hermisant*, and from its very collocation looks suspiciously as if it had been coined for the occasion. In *Diu Crône* Igerne lives in her magic castle with her daughter Orcades (Morchades),⁶ the mother of Gawain — a tradition that by transferring to the wife of Lot the name of his territory, Orcades, Orcanie (the Orkneys), represents one of the easiest possible devices for naming her.⁷ In *Malory* the mother of Gawain is Morgause (Margawse).⁸

In this confusion a few facts can be recognized. The authority of the earliest records assures us that the wife of Lot and mother of Gawain is Arthur's only sister, Anna. Blasine, Hermisant, Belisart, Elaine, Emine, Orcades, and Morgause are assuredly mere names attached to an otherwise completely impersonal figure. Anna in the chronicles, Morgain in the romances, are the two important sisters of the king, mentioned by name and appearing with an individual career,

¹ Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 132, 309; cf. *Vulgate Merlin*, pp. 102, 134; *Livre d'Artus*, P., p. 38, note 1; *English Merlin*, pp. 177, 242; *Arthour and Merlin*, v. 4559.

² Bk. I, ch. 2.

³ *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 102.

⁴ *English Merlin*, p. 121.

⁵ Vv. 4572, 7638. Cf. Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, London, 1839, p. xii, note. Alain Bouchard (*Les Grandes Croniques de Bretagne*, Nantes, 1886, fo. 48) says that Igerne had three children; the eldest, Anna or Emine married Budic, king of Armoric Britain, the second was Arthur, the third was the wife of Lot. Cf. Gervasius of Tilbury (*Otia Imperialia*), ed. Leibnitz, I, 936.

⁶ Vv. 21,034, 21,727, 21,771, 22,321, 23,722; cf. *Perceval*, vv. 10,280 ff., for another version of the same episode, in which the mother of Gawain is not named. Cf. also *Perceval*, v. 20,967: — there sat beside King Lot at a festival Queen Marcadès (*Morgadès*, MS. *Mpl.*). *Morchades* (*Marcadès*) is perhaps merely a mistake for *Orcades*. Markady (*Marchadès*) was an authentic masculine name; see Pierre de Langtoft, *Chronicle*, ed. Wright, London, 1866–1868, II, 120.

⁷ Cf. Dame Liones, *Malory*, Bk. VII, ch. 13 ff.; Lady Lisle of Avelon, *Id.*, Bk. II, ch. 1, 4 (see glossary, s.v.; cf. *Morte Darthur*, ed. Wright, London, 1866, p. 59, note 1); *Davalon li fiers*, *Diu Crône*, v. 2334, probably a misunderstanding of the phrase *sire d'Avalon* in *Erec*, v. 1955.

⁸ Bk. I, ch. 2. See also below, pp. 141 ff.

and in the case of Anna even this is practically non-episodic. Of these two sisters Morgain never appears in the chronicles, Anna never in the French romances.¹ Whence Anna came and whither she went are alike uncertain. Her name has a scriptural rather than a Celtic appearance, and whatever information regarding her may have been contained in Geoffrey's source, the former associations seem to have clung about the name at all events in Laȝamon's mind when he wrote,

Æfter Arthur was iboren :
þeo ædie burde
heo wes ihaten Æne
þ aedien maiden.²

There are three passages to which it is useful to call attention here. The first is from the *Lebor Gebhala* or *Book of Occupation* which is preserved in the *Book of Leinster*. Here the Irish war-goddess Ana or Anann, known as *Mater deorum Hibernensium*,³ is mentioned with Badb and Macha as the daughter of Ernmas, but in a versified form of the same poem Ana has disappeared, and the lines run according to Hennessy's translation:

Badb and Macha, rich the store,
Morrigan who dispenses confusion.

This is not at all a common identification, and in the account of the battle of Magh-Tuiredh,⁴ all four goddesses are mentioned; but the passage supplies an instance of the substitution of *Morrigan* (*Morgan*) for *Ana* (*Anna*).

The second passage to which I refer is Malory's version of the episode of Arthur and the enchantress Annowre.⁵ We have already seen that one form of this incident was probably attached to Morgain. In other words a name resembling *Anna*, and the name *Morgain* are associated with the same series of events.

¹ Cf. however the Latin romance, probably of the thirteenth century, *De Ortis Waluuanii*, ed. Bruce, *Trans. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XIII (1898), 390 ff.

² *Brut*, vv. 19,270-19,273. For an evident confusion between Ana the Irish war-goddess, and Anna, the cousin of the Virgin, cf. the Welsh pedigrees in Jesus College MS. 20, which is said to belong to the thirteenth century, cited by Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People*, London, 1900, p. 42.

³ See *Rev. Celt.*, I (1870-1872), 37; XII (1891), 128; Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People*, pp. 42, 132; Stokes and Windisch, III, ii (*Cóir Anmann*), 289.

⁴ *Rev. Celt.*, I, 40.

⁵ See pp. 19-21.

The third passage that I have in mind has a purely conjectural value. In the Welsh *Peredur*,¹ Gwalchmei, and in *Kulhwch and Olwen*,² Gwalchmei and Gwalhavet, are mentioned as the sons of Gwyar. Of this name Rhys says: "*Gwyar* is a word used by Welsh poets in the sense of shed blood; so that as a proper name it seems to refer to Gwalchmei's mother as a war-fury. . . . The interest of the name Gwyar, then, consists in its placing the bearer of it on the level of the Irish Mórrígu, as a war-fury."³ But, if it belongs to Gwalchmei's mother at all,⁴ when put beside Geoffrey's words it places its bearer on a nearer level with the war-goddess Ana.

We find Ana, a war-goddess, in Irish tradition; Anna, the mother of Gawain, in early sources in England and France; a term applicable, according to Rhys's interpretation, to Ana the war-goddess, given to one of Gwalchmei's parents in Welsh material. This is an analogous situation to that which we shall meet in the case of the Morrigan: in a certain episode in a French source she retains her Irish name in a French form; in Welsh material in the same episode a term synonymous with her name is used.⁵ The evidence thus far indicates that tradition made Anna the mother of Gawain in her origin essentially the same sort of being that Morgain was in her origin, and that a consequent confusion in name between Anna and Morgain accounts for Anna's disappearance from the romances and Morgain's appearance there as Arthur's sister.⁶ To Anna as the mother of Gawain, Arthur's nephew,⁷ this position belonged by the time when Geoffrey wrote his *Historia*, whatever her origin may have been; but there is excellent reason to believe that it had not been Morgain's from the time when tradition first associated her with Arthur.

¹ *Mabinogion*, I, 299.

² *Mabinogion*, II, 267.

³ *Arthurian Legend*, p. 169; cf. pp. 228, 235.

⁴ See, however, San Marte, *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, p. 380, note, where he treats *Gwyar* as the name of Gwalchmei's father.

⁵ See pp. 156 ff.

⁶ Rhys (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 22) has implied that this is conceivable, but without giving the reason for his suggestion: — "Geoffrey calls Loth's wife Anna, but she is probably to be identified with Arthur's sister called Morgan le Fay in the romances."

⁷ Gawain was Arthur's nephew as early as 1125; see *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 29.

Both statement and incident here and there tend to confirm the existence of such a tradition and confusion. In the first place there are some significant words addressed to Gawain in the romance, *L'Atre Perillous*,¹ which belongs probably in the second half of the thirteenth century.²

Une autre cose vous en di,
Si savés bien, si est ensi :
Vostre mere si fu moult sage,
Auques vous dist de son corage,
Je sai bien qu'ele fu faée,
Si vous dist vostre destinée,
Et vous acointa sans mentir,
Quanques vous devoit avenir.³

In the second place we have from an unexpected quarter an example of the actual substitution of Morgain for Anna in tradition. In the fragment of a Greek poem of uncertain date, contained in a manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, a certain king addressing Gawain, says :

Ομολογῶ τὰς χάριτας, μητέρι σου Μοργαίνη.⁴

We also have a case that shows the possible reaction of the fay's name upon that of the queen of Orcanie. This instance we owe to Malory, according to whom King Lot's wife is called *Morgause*.⁵ Although Malory gives Morgause a passing mention elsewhere,⁶ the only scenes in which she is an active figure are in the seventh book, which recounts the adventures of her son Sir Gareth, Beaumains. He comes, a fair and unknown youth, to Arthur's court, is dubbed *Beaumains* by Sir Kay, in derision of his fair hands, and is kept in service as a kitchen knave until he takes upon himself an other-world adventure rejected by the knights of the court, and departs to win glory in its accomplishment. All that is said of Morgause is that

¹ Herrig, *Archiv f. das Stud. der neueren Sp.*, XLII (1868), 148 ff.

² See *ib.*, 211.

³ Vv. 1575-1582; cf. vv. 2449 ff.

⁴ *Tristan*, ed. Michel, London, 1835, II, 269 ff., v. 39; cf. I, xviii; see also Von der Hagen, *Mathematische Abhandlung d. königl. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1848, pp. 243 ff.

⁵ This is the spelling always used in *Malory* (see Bk. II, ch. 11; Bk. VII, ch. 13; Bk. IX, ch. 14) except in one instance (Bk. I, ch. 2) where *Margawse* is the form given.

⁶ Bk. II, ch. 2; Bk. I, ch. 11.

while he is absent on his quest, his mother, Morgause, comes to court, reveals his true name and chides Arthur for his treatment of her son.¹ When the young knight returns from his adventure, dame Morgause at sight of him falls down in a swoon.² Thus the only source which relates the career of Beaumains is the only source for the two incidents in which Morgause is concerned.³

Morgain has a son whose name is practically synonymous with *Beaumains*, Sir Ewaine le Blanchemains.⁴ Yvain (Ewaine), the hero of Chrétien's poem, like Beaumains, went on a difficult quest to the other world, and there passed through adventures similar to his. Whatever may have been the origin of the names of these two youths,⁵ Beaumains and Ewaine le Blanchemains, or whichever was first made by tradition the son of Arthur's sister, the parallel between them in story and in name offers a plausible explanation for the influence of the name of Morgain, Sir Ewaine le Blanchemains' mother and Arthur's sister, upon that of Beaumains' (Gareth's) mother, who was also a sister of Arthur.⁶

To turn now to the other family ties attributed to Morgain. Having been made Arthur's sister, she had to be brought into connection with his kindred. By the time that the prose romances were compiled, her position as a member of the royal family was established, but established on a rather uncertain footing; her relations to the king are here invariable, but the

¹ Ch. 25.

² Ch. 33.

³ In the *Tristan* (Löseth, p. 58; cf. § 47; p. 489) a commonplace incident tells of the unnamed queen of Orkanie, Gaheriet's mother, whose lover Lamorat jousts with other knights in defence of his boast that she is the fairest queen alive. In Malory's version of the same episode (Bk. IX, ch. 13, 14) he naturally names her *Morgause*, having already known her by that name through his source for Book VII.

⁴ See *Malory*, Bk. I, ch. 2.

⁵ Beaumains is identified with le Beau Mauvais by Paris (*Rom.*, XXVI, 1897, 280, note 1), who explains *Beaumains* as the result of Malory's failure to understand a French source.

⁶ Perhaps it is not without significance that the only other episode beside those that I have mentioned in which Gareth is brought into special connection with his mother is somewhat similar to the only episode in which Yvain and Morgain are associated. Cf. Löseth, § 256; *Huth Merlin*, II, 212 ff.; *Malory*, Bk. IV, ch. 13. See also Nennius (ed. Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, XIII, 1894), ch. 63; Skene, *Four Anc. Books*, II, 439; *Mabinogion*, I, 89; Lot, *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV (1900), 528, 529.

same cannot be said of her ties to the other members of the princely circle. She is the daughter of Ygerne and the Duke of Tintagel, a bastard daughter of Ygerne, a bastard daughter of the Duke of Tintagel, a daughter of Uterpendragon.¹ It was also a difficult matter to anchor Morgain to one mortal husband. In the romances there are three kings regularly allied by marriage with Arthur, — Lot, Uentre, and Urien.² According to the *Huth Merlin* Morgain is given in marriage to Urien of Garlot;³ according to *Malory* to Urien of Gore;⁴ according to the *English Merlin* to Uentre of Garlot;⁵ according to the *Huth Merlin* Morgan, a bastard daughter of Ygerne, is given to Neutre of Sorhaut.⁶ The fact that *Morgain* was the only name thoroughly in vogue in the thirteenth century as that of Arthur's sister explains the confusion into which the author of the *Huth Merlin* falls in making both a Morgue and a Morgan Arthur's sister. Neutre and Urien trench upon each other's domains in other respects also. Urien is king of Garlot in the *Huth Merlin*, and of Gore in *Malory*, but Sorhaut is a city within his borders.⁷ As a result Morgain cannot be said to be persistently the queen of any one territory; but she is more persistently the wife of Urien than of any other prince. In the romances from early times Yvain is regularly the son of Urien.⁸ We should be glad to know whether tradition dealt with a Sir Ewaine le Blanchemains,⁹ the child of Morgain, who was a distinct person from Yvain, the son of Urien; but in the silence of our sources, we can see only that such a tradition would offer the best possible explanation of Morgain's marriage to Urien, for she would naturally be made the wife of that king whose son had the same name as her

¹ *Lancelot*, II, lxxi; *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 77, cf. p. 102; *Huth Merlin*, I, 120; *English Merlin*, p. 121; *Malory*, Bk. I, ch. 2; *English Merlin*, p. 86; cf. *Arthur and Merlin*, v. 4445; Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 84, cf. 103; Löseth, § 190.

² *Vulgate Merlin*, pp. 101, 102; *English Merlin*, pp. 121, 122; *Huth Merlin*, I, 120.

³ I, 201, 262; II, 168, 189, 212.

⁵ P. 86.

⁴ Bk. I, ch. 2; Bk. II, ch. 11; Bk. IV, ch. 4.

⁶ I, 120.

⁷ Bk. I, ch. 16; see *Arthurian Legend*, p. 324.

⁸ See, e.g., Wace, *Brut*, vv. 10,521, 13,597; *Vulgate Merlin*, pp. 102, 176, 213; *Huth Merlin*, I, 202, 266; *Livre d'Artus*, P., p. 25; Löseth, p. 310; *Claris et Laris*, v. 16,632; *Mabinogion*, I, 88.

⁹ Cf. Löseth, p. 441, note 3: — Ivain aux blanches mains is the son of Dayre.

own. Hence the Ewaine of whom she is represented as the mother is not always distinguished as Ewaine le Blanchemains,¹ but it is quite evident that her connection with Ewaine is more fully recognized than that with Urien, and that although she is in one source said to have married Uentre she is never made the mother of his son Galescin. There is no means, then, of telling surely whether a stage of tradition before or after Morgain's marriage with Urien is represented by the lines in *Tyolet*: —

Gauvain le baise et Uriain,
Keu et Evain, le filz Morgain.²

But they look a little as if there might have been the independent tradition which I have suggested above, that made Morgain the mother of Ewaine le Blanchemains. We cannot share Ferdinand Lot's doubt as to whether the Morgain mentioned is really the fay,³ but we may feel reasonably sure that *Tyolet*, which Paris would date no earlier than the twelfth century,⁴ may not be said to contain early material for the Morgain saga.

We may leave the subject of Morgain's family ties, regarding the conjecture as plausible that Morgain, originally altogether disassociated from mortal kind, came to be considered Arthur's sister because of a confusion between her name and Anna's, which may be paralleled as early as the days when the Morrigan and Ana were war-goddesses on Celtic soil. To her sisterhood to Arthur are due the other human relationships that belong to her; hence Morgain's most important mundane connections may all conjecturally be traced back in direct line to an association between her saga and that of the Morrigan.

¹ See *Huth Merlin*, I, 202, 266; II, 168, 213; cf. *English Merlin*, p. 238, where the description of Yvain's mother is not applicable to the Morgain of the prose romances; see also *Arthour and Merlin*, vv. 7635 ff. ² Vv. 629, 630.

³ See *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 323, note 2.

⁴ See p. 7, note 1.

CHAPTER XI

MORGAIN LA FÉE

I

WE have followed Morgain now through the principal episodes¹ of her varied life, and have examined all the important features of her history. As we review them one after the other, two facts are probably obvious to us all:—first and most important, that a story parallel to that of Cuchulinn and Fand forms the nucleus of the entire Morgain saga as we know it; and secondly, that in the incidents which are attached least firmly to this centre the conception of Morgain as a great fairy queen accounts for her doings, her possessions, and her relationships. We have learned to be cautious in tampering with the doings of Time, who ruthlessly destroys even Breton lays and French romances, and to acknowledge that when we would restore what he has obliterated, we can lay claim to few results that are not tentative. Still, we have seen that Arthur's stay with the enchantress and his experiences with Accalon, as well as his sojourn in Avalon, may be regarded as branches of our early fairy-mistress theme, and that a comparison of the existing versions of all these episodes points to a strong probability that Morgain was the original fairy mistress. Our material, we have found, shows three noteworthy variations from the postulated original.

1. The original hero and the original fay never appear together in their original relations; one of them is changed, or their relations to each other are changed. Arthur is lured to the other world by an enchantress, who loves him and has come to seek him. Morgain transports Renoart, Lancelot and Alisander to her own domains, and there claims their love. She entices Arthur by other-world agencies to a tower, intending

¹ The episodes not treated previously are discussed in this chapter and below, pp. 190, 195 ff., 226, note, and Excursus I.

to destroy him, or she guides him to Avalon that she may heal his wounds.

2. The fierce hostility of the enchantress toward Arthur after he has left her, and of Morgain toward him in the fight with Accalon appears as a much less pronounced element in our typical fairy-mistress story, where Fand simply declares that since Cuchulinn has given her up for Emer, she has ceased to love him.

3. Morgain is usually represented as Arthur's sister.

This last alteration in the material produced, as we have seen, the first of the three variations just mentioned; for as soon as Morgain was said to be Arthur's sister, she could no longer be the mistress and he the lover of the story. The second variation, we have noticed, contains a parallel to the Morrigan tradition in that it reproduces the battle-maiden's offers of love to Cuchulinn, and her anger at his repulse, which led her to attempt his death in combat. The third variation we accounted for most readily by an evident confusion between Morgain and Anna, Arthur's sister, which is paralleled in Celtic myth by a confusion between the war-goddesses, Morrigan and Ana, and which in both the French and Celtic material was assisted by the fact that the two beings confused belonged to the same class in their origin. Two, then, out of the three variations on the early theme are paralleled in the Morrigan material, and the third is the result of one of them.

To the postulated fairy-mistress story we have traced the experiences of Renoart, Lancelot, and Alisander with Morgain. We saw that the tradition of Morgain's hatred toward Guinevere was a probable outgrowth of the same early story, modified by the variation that attributed to the fay a bitterly rancorous nature. This tradition, it is likely, influenced the story of Morgain's love for Guiomar, in which we detected elements that belong to the original fairy-mistress theme, and that we found might have become attached to Guiomar's name as a consequence of Morgain's sisterhood to Arthur. We learned also that her connection with Guiomar might account for the special form of tradition that tells of her love for Ogier, which parallels the fairy-mistress theme attached to

Guingamor, a knight whose name so resembles Guiomar's that an association in story between the two heroes might easily arise, and a transference of the Guingamor type to a new *ami* of Morgain result. The same early motive we detected once more in the induction to the episode of the Val sanz Retor, but here we perceived Morgain's character as fairy queen entering clearly into the saga. We saw also that to her position and traits as fairy queen, which made it easy to confuse her name with that of the well-known enchanter, Morgan, was probably due her connection with two other famous fidelity tests, the horn and the mantle; and that even these were used as a means for ringing changes upon the theme of her hostility to Arthur and Guinevere. Furthermore, her ownership of these fidelity tests showed us a plausible reason for her appearance as the mother of the truth-loving and loyal Auberon, who cherished similar magic belongings.

Very few of the themes that are attached to Morgain's name are in themselves unique, nor are her activities distinctive of her alone. All fays love gallant young knights; all, if they choose, shift their shapes, build enchanted dwellings, fashion magic objects, and take dire revenge upon mortals who offend them. The student of the French romances early learns that when a personage from one cause or another came to be regarded as the type for some one class, or as the typical representative of a special quality, there began to be attracted to him a variety of stories repeating the particular deed for which he was celebrated, or exemplifying the trait for which he was distinguished. Plenty of illustrations will occur to all of us; the histories of Gawain, Lancelot, Merlin, Caradoc at once come to our minds. Hence it may seem quite possible that Morgain's close association with Arthur as the healer of his wounds led to her being accounted a powerful fay, and that then numerous typical and popular fairy stories were attached to her name at the dictates of each narrator's fancy. It is, however, highly questionable whether this process would result in so closely connected a whole, in which the parts adhere firmly to a centre, as the Morgain saga presents. The essential elements forming its true kernel resolve themselves into the early fairy-mistress theme, the

anger of the fay against her lover, and the *rôle* of Morgain as the fairy queen. These are the three factors, then, with which we have to reckon in determining Morgain's origin.

II

Does a derivation of Morgain from the Morrigan account for the essential elements of the Morgain saga? Clearly it does not explain the details of the fairy-mistress story that was probably at one time told of Arthur and Morgain. The fairy messengers from Avalon, Arthur's enchanted voyage thither, the promises of healing for his wound, and his sojourn in the other world lead our thoughts to Fand and Mag Mell, but not to the Morrigan. It does, however, explain those developments of the early story in which the fay's rancor follows the rejection of her love, namely, the story of Arthur in the tower of the enchantress, and that of Hector, Renoart, Lancelot, and the fickle lover who met his fate in the Val sanz Retor, and it gives a reason also for Morgain's hatred of Arthur. It throws light, too, upon Morgain's sisterhood to Arthur, even if it does not wholly account for it.

Moreover, if Morgain be derived from the Morrigan, there is an easy explanation for her otherwise puzzling twofold attitude toward Arthur, who is the object of her care and of her vengeance. The Morrigan stands in specially intimate relations to Cuchulinn. In one of his youthful exploits she acts as his protectress by spurring him on to valor just as he is about to be worsted in conflict.¹ Despite the hostility ascribed to her after Cuchulinn's refusal of her love, she gives him her aid, as we have seen, and in his final battle until his last moment she does not cease her efforts to protect him.²

Minor incidents, too, here and there in Morgain's life faintly reproduce episodes told of the Morrigan. Such is the story of the punishment by transformation into a river visited by the Morrigan upon the offending Odras, and Morgain's spell cast upon her rival in the Val sanz Retor.³ An episode of the same character, though here the parallelism is rather more striking, is that of the Morrigan's shape-shifting to escape

¹ See *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 452.

² See p. 34.

³ See pp. 99-102.

from Cuchulinn's grasp, and Morgain's shape-shifting as she flees across the moors from Arthur's pursuit with the scabbard of Excalibur in her hand.¹

When we turn from incident to attribute we see a closer parallelism, especially in the manifestation of supernatural power. In the *Cath Maige Turedh* (Second Battle of Moytura),² the Morrigan with Badb and Macha³ is represented as protecting the Tuatha dé Danann from their enemies by magic clouds of darkness and mist, and showers of fire and blood.⁴ Another of her gifts is that of prophecy, which she uses in behalf of the Dagda, telling him where his enemies will land their forces and how she will destroy the son of their king;⁵ and she gives a timely warning to "that extraordinary precious thing the Brown Bull of Cuailgne" when the men of Erin are planning to carry him away from his home.⁶ Shape-shifting is one of the Morrigan's most ordinary habits, and she commonly appears to mortal sight in some disguise. Her favorite form is that of a bird, especially a crow or a raven.⁷ She becomes in turn an eel, a gray wolf (or hound),⁸ and a white red-eared cow in a contest with Cuchulinn.⁹ We have seen her come to him also as a beautiful maiden,¹⁰ as a woman with red eyebrows,¹¹

¹ See Chapter II, section iii.

² Edited and translated in an abridged form from a fifteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum (*Harl. 5280*) by Whitley Stokes in *Rev. Celt.*, XII (1891), 52 ff. The version in its present form is dated by Stokes no earlier than the tenth or eleventh century. See also *Rev. Celt.*, I, 40; O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, II, 187.

³ The Morrigan is more closely associated with her two sisters, Badb and Macha, than with any of the other Irish war-goddesses, and when she does not appear alone, she usually moves in their company (see *Rev. Celt.*, I, 1870-1872, 35 ff. pass.; *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 102; cf. above, pp. 34, 139). Morgain frequently appears in the society of two fays (see pp. 50, 51, summaries in Excursus I). But three is a number so commonly connected with fays that no stress should be laid on this resemblance (see e.g. *Perceval*, vv. 26,699, 34,143; *Florian et Florete*, vv. 552 ff., 8258; Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 119; *Malory*, Bk. IV, ch. 18; Maury, p. 32; Grimm, *D. M.*, I, 341; III, 341).

⁴ For a comparison between the mist of the Morrigan and the troll mist cf. Bugge-Schofield, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1899, p. 351.

⁵ See *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 85.

⁶ See *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 157.

⁷ See pp. 24, 34. Zimmer, *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXVIII (1887), 450; cf. 476, 477; *Rev. Celt.*, I, 45.

⁸ See *Rev. Celt.*, I, 46.

⁹ See *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXVIII, 457 ff.; *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 164 ff.; above, p. 24.

¹⁰ See p. 22.

¹¹ See p. 24.

and still again we read that after she was wounded by him in battle, since he alone could heal her, she sought him in the guise of an old crone driving a cow, and by giving him a drink of milk won his blessing, which at once made her whole.¹

According to the *Cóir Anmann*² the Morrigan dwells in one of the *sidh*; Hennessy gives us to understand that she had a fairy palace beside the Suir.³ In the *Tochmarc Emire* we read of the Morrigan's Garden⁴ and the "Wood of the Badb, i.e., of the Morrigan";⁵ in the *Fled Bricrend* there is a mere mention of the Morrigan's ford,⁶ and certain Irish localities according to Hennessy are designated as the Morrigan's Field, the Mound of the Morrigan, the Fulacht of the Morrigan.⁷

We cannot have followed in Morgain's path thus far without finding ourselves on familiar ground as we read of these attributes and associations of the Morrigan. Morgain's name is not wholly unrepresented in the topography of Armorica; she has, it goes without saying, a fairy dwelling; she can foretell the future, she can cast a magic mist where she will. Like the Morrigan, also, Morgain is a fomenter of strife: — "Deboinaire estoit ele sor toute rien tant com ele estoit en sen boin sens. Mais quant ele se courechoit enuers aucun homme noiant estoit del acorder."⁸ "Whan she were wroth with eny man, she was euell for to acorde."⁹ Morgain, too, can change

¹ See Stokes and Windisch, III, ii, 354, 355, *Cóir Anmann* (Fitness of Names), 149 (composed hardly earlier than the twelfth century; see Stokes and Windisch, III, ii, 286); *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 168, 169.

² Stokes and Windisch, III, ii, 119.

³ *Rev. Celt.*, I, 50.

⁴ *Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), 72, 153; *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 64.

⁵ *Arch. Rev.*, I, 231.

⁶ *Ép. Celt.*, I, 106.

⁷ *Rev. Celt.*, I, 55; cf. XV (1894), 293.

⁸ *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 362.

⁹ *English Merlin*, p. 508. Cf. Löseth, p. 192; Sommer, *Malory*, III, 309: — Morgain la desloial; *Huth Merlin*, I, 262: — Elle estoit moult malicieuse durement et moult savoit de tintin et de male pensee; cf. *ib.*, II, 188; Löseth, p. 482; *Malory*, Bk. VIII, ch. 34; *Prophecies*, p. xxi; above, e.g., pp. 13, 21, 50.

In the *Cath Maige Turedh* (see *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 1891, 85) we read that the Dagda met by assignation a woman in Glenn Etin, as she was bathing in the Unius of Corann. "Nine loosened tresses were on her head. The Dagdae conversed with her and they made a union. . . . The woman that is here mentioned is the Morrigan (Lamia)." Cf. *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXXIII (1893-1894), 105, for the gloss on Morrigan, *monstru(m) in femine figura*. With these glosses cf. the traditions attributing a passionate, sensual nature to Morgain. See *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 361: — Ele estoit la plus chaude feme de toute la grant bertaigne & la plus luxurieuse. Cf. *English Merlin*, p. 507; above, p. 61.

her shape at pleasure, and the difference of opinion in regard to her beauty that evidently existed among the narrators who described her appearance looks as if there had been some story that is lost to us, which represented her as assuming the form of a loathly lady. In general she is favored with the traditional beauty of a fay,¹ but in some of our sources she is said to be *laide*.² In the *Huth Merlin*³ the two conflicting traditions are brought together, and the author or his source endeavors to reconcile them:—“Et sans faille elle fu bele damoisele jusques a celui terme que elle commencha aprendre des enchantemens et des charroies ; mais puis que li anemis fu dedans li mis, et elle fu aspiree et de luxure et de dyable, elle pierdi si otreement sa biauté que trop devint laide, ne puis ne fu nus qui a bele la tenist, s'il ne fu enchantes.”⁴

The parallels that we have examined assuredly indicate a connection in tradition between Morgain and the Morrigan. The forms of the two names also point in the same direction ; but conclusions that are based on the possible relation of the

¹ See *Vulgate Merlin*, 361 : — Icele morgain iert iouene damoisele & gaie durement et moult enuoisie. mais moult estoit brune de vis et dune roonde charneure ne trop maigre ne trop crase. mais moult estoit aparte & auenans de cors & de membres si estoit droite & plisans a merueilles & bien chantans. . . . & ouriere fu ele des mains la milloure que on seust en nule terre. & si auoit ele le plus bel chief quil conuenist a feme auoir. & les plus beles mains. & espaules trop bien faites adense & aperte estoit ele sor toute rien. & sa char estoit plus soef que millart. & encore auoit ele vne autre teche en lui qui ne fait mie a trespasser. Car ele auoit vne loquense douche & souef. & parlant bien & a trait & debonaire estoit ele sor toute rien tant com ele estoit en sen boin sens. Cf. *English Merlin*, 507, 508 ; Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 269 ; *Vita Merlini*, v. 919 ; *Bataille Loquifer*, p. 256 ; *Bel Inconnu*, v. 4263 ; *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 16, 3493, 10,381 ; *Auberon*, v. 1280 ; *Beaudous*, v. 2237. Cf. further *Lancelot*, v. 7185. Morgain's beauty and skill, like Helen's or Thisbe's, serve as a norm with the Italian poets of the thirteenth century ; see e.g. D'Ancona e Comparetti, *Antiche Rime Volgari*, Bologna, 1875-1888, II, 2 ; III, 115, 166 ; Lorenzo de' Medici, *Nencia da Barberino*, cited by Gaspary, *Geschichte der italienischen Literatur*, Strassburg, 1885, II, 246.

² *Lancelot*, lxxi : — Morgain resembles her father, the Duke of Tintagel, *car moult estoit laide*. *Prophecies*, p. xcvi : — The Dame d'Avalon, by means of a ring that has the power to overcome enchantment, discovers that magic cosmetics deserve the credit for Morgain's youthful appearance, and that she is in reality old and wrinkled. Cf. Sommer, *Malory*, III, 310 ; above, p. 133.

³ I, 166.

⁴ Cf. *Perceval*, vv. 25,380-25,744, for the story of Le Biaux Mauvais and his hideous love, Rosette li Blois, whom he fancies fair and full of grace, and who appears so beautiful later that her fame spreads throughout the land ; *je ne sais s'ele fu faee*, adds Gautier.

French and Celtic names must be highly uncertain, for there is always present the possibility that the word *Morrigan* did not enter France from Ireland directly, but through Wales, where the form that it assumed has perished with the literature in which it may have been embodied. Also we may as well acknowledge the fact that no fay nor mortal was ever more elusive or erratic in career than is a proper name in mediaeval literature, and that with the multitudinous opportunities for a misunderstanding in an oral or a misspelling in a written source, theories as to its domestication on foreign soil according to strict phonological conventions "gang aft agley." The relation of the forms of Morgain's name to each other and to *Morrigan* is a matter into which the element of uncertainty enters too strongly¹ for it to have much weight in establishing the connection between the two mythological figures. We are treading on surer ground in dealing with the sagas.

The community between the Irish battle-goddess and the Breton fay may be said to be in the main one of attribute rather than of incident; and many of their characteristics are too universal with supernatural beings to be important in fixing

¹ The spelling of Morgain's name is a variable quantity (see Excursus II for a classified collection of the passages in which the name is found). In French our earliest forms are *Morgue*, *Morgain*, in Chrétien, and *Morgán* in the *Roman de Troie*. The difference in the forms *Morgan*, *Morgain* simply represents, it should be said, an exceedingly common variation in spelling of which we have many instances (cf. *Garadagain*, *Caradigan*; *Houdain*, *Houdan*; *Agrevain*, *Agrafan*. Chrétien inflects the name with a nominative *Morgue* (*Erec*, vv. 4220, 4222; *Yvain*, v. 2953), an accusative *Morgain* (*Erec*, v. 1957), following the regular inflection that is seen in such names as *Eve*, *Evain*; *Berte*, *Bertain*; *Alde*, *Aldain* (see Schwan-Behrens, *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, Leipzig, 1899, § 288, 3). He is the only author who is consistent in his inflection. In other sources, neither *Morgue* nor *Morgain* is reserved exclusively for one case, except in the *Auberon*, where *Morgue* is sometimes used in the accusative, *Morgain* in only the accusative. In Gaucher de Dourdan's continuation of the *Perceval* there occur the earliest sure examples of *Morghe* as an accusative (vv. 30,240, 30,308). This obtrusion of each case upon the other may be due not only to the general tendency of the language to drop inflection, but an accusative *Morgain* may also have come to be regarded as a nominative by analogy with such well-known names as *Yvain*, *Gauvain*, *Agravain*. *Morgain* itself is given the nominative termination *s* in some sources (see below, pp. 256, 257. In *Floriant et Florete*, v. 2083, the form *Morgains* as an accusative is doubtless influenced by *mains*, the last word of the succeeding verse). In the *Roman de Troie* (v. 7990) *Morgán* appears as a nominative. From the fact that in such early material *Morgan* is a nominative it seems rather more likely that an analogical nominative,

an identity. But the aggregate of the resemblances, and the parallelism appearing both in that incident of the Morgain saga which forms the kernel of the whole, and also in Morgain's relations to Arthur, the mortal with whom she is most closely associated, make it likely that the situation is not the result of a chance accumulation of stories.

III

How intimate a connection may we believe exists between Morgain and the Morrigan? Doubtless we have all noticed as we have reviewed the parallels in the Morrigan and Morgain traditions, that although their framework is the same, the effect of the two structures is unlike. A remoteness from the Celtic which is perceptible in the French material is scarcely easy to reconcile with the view that the latter is directly repeating the former. In the French sources we are listening merely to an echo, at times clear and distinct. Shall we believe, then, that the tradition of the Morrigan came to

Morgue, was formed from *Morgan* (*ain*), than that the reverse process took place, namely that *Morgain* is an analogical accusative, which in the *Roman de Troie* is already obtruding upon the nominative, as it certainly did in the thirteenth century. It is possible to explain the form *Morgān* (or *Morgāin*) as derived directly from *Morrigan*. The name of the war-goddess is written *Mórrigan*, *Mór Rígan*, *Mórríghan*, *Mor(r)ig(h)ain*, *Morrign*, *Morrígu* (see Hennessy, *Rev. Celt.*, I, 53, for the declension; Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 128, 308). The original accent of the word is uncertain; but the etymology generally accepted by scholars (see below, p. 159), which explains the name as a compound consisting of *mor*, great, and *rígan*, queen, makes it probable that the word had an accented penult. Of this Celtic penult there is no trace in any of the French forms of Morgain's name, doubtless owing to the fact that the distinct vowel *a* of the last syllable of *Morrigan* had drawn the accent, and thus occasioned the loss of the *i*. Welsh material, if it existed, might supply us with a convenient intermediate form. The earliest instance of the name, that in the *Vita Merlini* (vv. 920, 933), gives us no assistance, inasmuch as we do not know on what language Geoffrey's latinization is based, whether French or Welsh, and to reconstruct his original from his Latin form of a name is a delicate task. Not to mention the many examples that his *Historia* affords, in the *Vita Merlini* we find that his Latin for *Taliesin* is *Telgesinus*, for *Rydderch*, *Rodarchus*. It should be added, however, that if the connection between Morgain and the Morrigan be established, we may eliminate from consideration Lot's theory that the *Morgen* of the *Vita Merlini* is derived from the Irish *Muirgen*, the name of the mermaid whose history is told in the *Death of Eochaid* referred to above (pp. 9, 10; see Lot, *Rom.*, XXVIII, 1899, 323 ff.; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 373), and with whom we have seen that Morgain has no connection in tradition.

France direct from Ireland, or that it passed through Wales before it reached the continent? Either course would be possible, but there are two factors that have some weight in turning the scale in favor of a Welsh intermediary. One has just been mentioned — the Morgain tradition is not a perfectly transparent medium for that of the Morrigan. The other is an incident fortunately preserved in our scanty portion of Welsh literature. Zimmer and Foerster in their arguments in favor of an Armorican source for the Arthurian material lay special stress upon the fact that our Welsh texts never mention Morgain la fée: — “Die in den französischen Texten mit Arthur und Avalon aufs engste verknüpfte Fee *Morgan* ist der welschen Sage überhaupt, nicht blos der Arthursage, ebenfalls absolut unbekannt.”¹ “Die kymrische Sage kennt eine Fee Morgan gar nicht, so dass der kymrische und kymrisierende Bearbeiter Ivains und Erecs mit ihr nichts anzufangen wusste. . . . Diese Figur ist nicht etwa nur der Artussage, nein, sie ist der inselkeltischen Saga überhaupt fremd.”² Yet it is in the *Mabinogion*, in *Peredur*,³ that the incident is found which suggests the solution of our problem.

As Peredur is on his way to attack the Addanc, a dreadful monster who lives in a cave and slays men, he sees the fairest lady whom he has ever beheld seated on a mound. “‘I know thy quest,’ said she, ‘thou art going to encounter the Addanc. . . . And if thou wouldst pledge me thy faith, to love me above all women, I would give thee a stone, by which thou shouldst see him when thou goest in, and he should not see thee.’ ‘I will, by my troth,’ said Peredur, ‘for when first I beheld thee, I loved thee; and where shall I seek thee?’ ‘When thou seekest me, seek towards India.’ And the maiden vanished, after placing the stone in Peredur’s hand.” Thus equipped, Peredur enters the cave of the Addanc and slays him.

After sundry adventures Peredur rides into a valley where many gaily colored tents are spread in preparation for a tourney to be given by the Empress of Cristinobyl the Great: “and she will have no one, but the man who is most valiant; for riches does she not require.” At the window of one of the tents Peredur espies the fairest maiden that he has ever beheld, and forthwith he loves her greatly. The next day he enters the lists, and wins the tourney. At the bidding of the Empress, he visits her. “And the Empress said to him, ‘Goodly Peredur, remember the faith that

¹ Zimmer, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XII (1890), 239.

² Foerster, *Der Karrenritter*, p. cxix (d).

³ *Mabinogion*, I, 343-345, 349-353.

thou didst pledge me when I gave thee the stone, and thou didst kill the Addanc.' 'Lady,' answered he, 'thou sayest truth, I do remember it.' And Peredur was entertained by the Empress fourteen years, as the story relates."

The Empress is plainly no ordinary mortal Empress of Constantinople; she is essentially a fay, endowed with pure fairy attributes. She knows Peredur's quest of the Addanc with the true fay's foreknowledge of her chosen knight's career, and comes to the hero who is strongest and best for the express purpose of winning his love. Her magic stone is one of the many pledges, potent to supply a pressing need, that a fay gives the mortal whom she loves.¹ She can change her appearance at her will, and like Dame Liones, Sir Gareth's fairy mistress, now in one guise and now in another even more beautiful, she affords the same hero the sensation of falling in love with her twice. Very probably also the Empress created the tournament with the design of winning her chosen knight for herself.

Rhys² draws a parallel between the Empress and the Morrigan. The proffered aid of the Empress to Peredur he compares with the Morrigan's offers of love and assistance in

¹ See, e.g., *Désiré*, ed. Michel, *Lais Inédits*, Paris, 1836, p. 29; Chestre, *Launfal*, ed. Erling, Kempten, 1883, vv. 313-336; *Florimont*, see Paris, *MSS. franc.*, III, 26; *Malory*, Bk. VII, ch. 27; *Pulzella Gaia*, I, st. 19; *Bel Gherardino*, ed. Zambrini, Bologna, 1867, I, st. 35. With the stone of the Empress that makes the wearer invisible cf. *Mabinogion*, II, 271; Von der Hagen's *Germania*, VII (1846), 102; *Yvain*, v. 1026; *Prophecies*, pp. xcv, xcvi. Some wonderful stones cause a remembrance of sights that the wearer has seen, *Mabinogion*, II, 400; if held in one hand fill the other with as much gold as the owner desires, *Mabinogion*, I, 340; can be touched only by him who is without sin, Wirnt von Gravenberg, *Wigalois*, ed. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1847, vv. 1478 ff.; give the owner any kind of food or drink, *Bataille Loquifer*, p. 247; compel the wearer to love the giver, Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 376; restore the sick to health, *Staufenberger*, ed. Jänicke in *Altdeutsche Studien* Jänicke, Steinmeyer, Wilmanns, Berlin, 1871, vv. 236-243; enable the owner to understand all languages, *Ortnit*, ed. Amelung and Jänicke, Berlin, 1871-1873 (*Deutsches Heldenbuch*, III, IV), III, 245; the stones in the wall in Meideland have such power that he who dwells within never knows regret and lives in perpetual happiness, *Lanzelet*, vv. 234 ff.; a certain stone enables the wearer to ride an enchanted mule, *Perceval*, vv. 28, 306 ff. Cf. also the marvellous stones in the magic sword on Solomon's ship, see p. 16, note 1; see also Stengel, *Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen*, LXXXIII (1889), 50, 51; for further references to magic stones see Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, p. 110; Stokes and Windisch, III, i, 214; MacDougall, pp. 223 ff.; Child, *Ballads*, I, 269; II, 502.

² *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 111, 112, 236.

coming danger to Cuchulinn in the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*.¹ As Cuchulinn despises the Morrigan's favors, so, he says, Peredur leaves the Empress and forgets his life with her. The comparison is scarcely to be pressed. The scene in which the Empress proffers her aid to Peredur lacks one of the most important details of that in the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*, namely Cuchulinn's scornful rejection of the Morrigan's advances; the absence of this element leaves the episode one that may be paralleled again and again in the romances. The fay's delight is to await by the fountain or in the forest the coming of her chosen hero, with the sole object of giving him whatever he wishes and of gaining his love. Guingamor, Lanval, Graelent, Gawain, Florimont and many other heroes experienced this seductive trait of the other-world damsel. Nor is Peredur's voluntary separation from the Empress after a sojourn with her near enough to Cuchulinn's contemptuous treatment of the Morrigan to be significant. Nothing is commoner than this situation in fairy stories, and ever since the days of Bran the supernatural mistress has permitted the mortal to leave her after a period passed with her in her domains.

There is one other incident in the *Peredur*² with which the Empress is connected.

Peredur comes to a lake in the middle of which stands the Castle of Wonders. He enters the open door, and sees in the hall a chessboard on which the chessmen are playing against each other. "And the side that he favored lost the game, and thereupon the others set up a shout, as though they had been living men. And Peredur was wroth, and took the chessmen in his lap, and cast the chessboard into the lake. And when he had done thus, behold the black maiden came in, and she said to him, 'The welcome of Heaven be not unto thee. . . . Thou hast occasioned unto the Empress the loss of her chessboard, which she would not have lost for all her empire.'" The only way in which Peredur can recover the chessboard, she continues, is to slay a certain Black Man, who is ravaging the dominions of the Empress; but when Peredur returns from the adventure, she refuses to admit him to the presence of her lady until he shall have killed a destructive stag of the forest to which he shall be guided by the little dog of the Empress.

Another version of this same episode is contained in Gaucher's continuation of the *Perceval*.³

¹ See p. 22.

² *Mabinogion*, I, 65 ff. See below, p. 231.

³ Vv. 22,392-22,887, 27,006-27,668, 29,901-30,554.

Perceval enters a wonderfully beautiful castle on the bank of a stream. In one of the apartments he espies a golden chessboard with golden chessmen, self-moving, ever-mating. They checkmate him when he begins to play with them, and in an ill-humor he takes them from the board, intending to fling them out of the window. But his plans are thwarted by the advent of a beautiful maiden, who rises from the river flowing past the castle, and, telling him that the chessmen are in her keeping, commands him to restore them to their place. Not until he has obeyed her, does she consent to enter the castle and listen to his words of love. Even then she will not grant his desire until he has undertaken the quest of the white stag in the forest, in which her fairy brachet is his guide.¹ After arduous adventures he returns to her with the quest accomplished ; then sitting before the chessboard she tells him its history.

Once upon a time Morgain chanced to be playing chess with a knight in a meadow, when a certain necromantic maiden joined them, and begged Morgain to accept from her an enchanted chessboard. Shortly afterward Perceval's love had entered Morgain's service as a lady in waiting, and when at last she had asked permission to go away, Morgain had given her the magic chessboard as a parting gift. The maiden had left Morgain's dwelling and had wandered to the river, where she had built her beautiful castle. For ten years the chessboard had been in her keeping.

This same adventure is related of Perceval in the *Didot-Perceval*,² but here Morgain has no place. The mistress of the castle is the hero's love, and imposes the adventure upon him; the chessboard is in the keeping of one of her attendants, who holds a laughing parley with Perceval, enjoining him to restore the chessmen to their places before she will grant him the privilege of seeing her mistress.

Morgain's part in the incident of the Chessboard Castle is rather puzzling ; in fact the story connecting her with the chessboard appears like an altogether needless device of Gaucher's for filling up the hours of conversation between the reunited Perceval and his *amic*. The interchange of courtesies between Morgain and the maiden skilled in necromancy, and Morgain's subsequent gift to her *suivante* suspiciously resemble padding, the manufacturing of which would require no great amount of ingenuity.³ But even if the lion's share in the details belongs

¹ Cf. below, p. 230.

² Pp. 438-445, 467-471.

³ An evident emanation from Gaucher's story is contained in *Les Quatres Frères Chevaliers de la Table Ronde*, a late romance summarized in no better source than the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, ed. Paulmy, July, 1777, I, 106-122. For other-world chessboards and games of chess, see above, p. 90 ;

to Gaucher, it is natural to suppose that he had some reason for attaching them to Morgain's name and for forcing her into this special tale.

In *Peredur* the Empress as an active participant in the story is scarcely more important than Morgain is in the *Perceval*. The Black Maiden lives and moves and has her being for the express purpose of imposing adventures upon Peredur as tests in consequence of his failure at the Grail Castle, and although it is in the name of the Empress that Peredur kills the Black Man and pursues the stag, the entire point of the story is that the Black Maiden really demands the adventures from the hero. In *Perceval*, though the lady who guards the board is the hero's love, it is she who imposes the adventure. In neither is Morgain nor the Empress much more than a mere figure behind the scene, although the Empress, of course, forms an integral part of the story in a way that Morgain does not. Thus Gaucher's lady of the Chessboard Castle takes the rôle which in the *Mabinogi* is divided between the Black Maiden and the Empress, in the *Didot-Perceval* between the damsel and the mistress.¹ In all three sources, no one of which is probably dependent wholly on the others, a fay guards the chessboard which is or has been the prized possession of a fay greater than herself. In the *Peredur* this more powerful fay is a fairy queen, the Empress; in the *Perceval* she is the fairy queen, Morgain. Plainly Gaucher and the author of the *Peredur* are indebted, though perhaps not directly, for the outline that they follow, to a common source, according to which a fairy queen entrusts to a maiden's care a magic chessboard. In the Welsh source this fairy queen is called the *Empress (amherodres)* of Cristinobyl, in the French, *Morgain*. What was the fairy queen called in the ultimate source from which the Welshman and Gaucher drew?

The original significance of the Morrigan's name is not certain. Two derivations have been suggested. There is no

Perceval, I, 85, 89; *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 83; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 258; *Mabinogion*, I, 383; *Rev. Celt.*, XII (1891), 79; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, London, 1866, p. 137; cf. *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 37, note, 59, 135.

¹ For a discussion of the exact relations of the sources in this complicated incident, see *Holy Grail*, pp. 139-145. Morgain's connection with the story is all that is important here.

question that *Rígan* means "queen," and it is only in regard to the signification of the first member that authorities differ. The name is sometimes found with *ō* (*Mōrrigan*), a spelling that justifies the interpretation of the first syllable as *mor*, "great." For this meaning there is authority in the *Acallamh na Senórach*, where there are mentioned among the Tuatha dé Danann the children of the *mórríghian* or "great queen," daughter of Ernmas, with her six and twenty female warriors.¹ Whitley Stokes makes a different suggestion.² "The *mor* seems identical with O.H.G. and A.S. *mara*, Eng. *mare* in *night-mare*, Germ. *mar* (gl. *lamia*), Grimm, Wörterb. s.v. *Mahr*, Pol. *mora*. The mark of length sometimes found over the *o* of *Mor* is due to popular etymology: so *bórama* for *bōroma*."³ Whatever the accent of the word originally was, it affords too excellent an opportunity for popular etymologizing to escape receiving the interpretation "great queen." In addition to the above passage from the *Acallamh na Senórach* there is evidence that it came to be so understood⁴ in the fact that *Morrigan* is almost as much a title as it is a proper name. A gloss in the *Lebor Buidhe Lecain* explains *Macha*, the name of one of the Irish war-goddesses, as *the third Morrigan or great queen*;⁵ we hear also of a Macha Moingruadh who founded Armagh, and of Mongfind, a queen of the third century, to both of whom the name *Morrigan* is applied.⁶

There is no reason to suppose that if the name *Morrigan* reached France, its Celtic meaning would be felt there. In the French interpretation of the Welsh *Caradoc breich bras* we have an example of the way in which a Celtic name might be treated in France. *Breich bras* in Welsh signifies *great arms*, *breich* meaning "arms," and *bras*, "great." This by the mistake of some Frenchman who understood *bras* as his native word for "arm" has been turned in French into *brief*, or *briés*,

¹ See Stokes and Windisch, IV, i, 140; cf. *ib.*, 131; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 225, 217; cf. *Rev. Celt.*, I, 35; O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1893, III, 187.

² *Rev. Celt.*, XII (1891), 128.

³ Cf. Rhŷa, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, 286; Borlase, *The Dolmens of Ireland*, London, 1877, II, 348, 567.

⁴ See also Bodley *Dinnshenchas*, ed. and trans. by Stokes, *Folk Lore*, III (1892), 467 ff.; Meyer and Nutt, I, 213, cf. 196.

⁵ *Rev. Celt.*, I, 36.

⁶ *ib.*, 54.

braz, "short arm."¹ If the tradition of the Morrigan reached Welsh districts, however, the meaning of the name would probably still be felt. The name of the Irish hero Nuadha Argetlamh or Nuada of the Silver Hand² is represented in twelfth-century Welsh in the Black Book of Caermarthen by *Lluda Llaw Ereint* or *Lludd of the Silver Hand*, where Rhys suggests that the *Lludd* is an early corruption for *Nudd*.³ In other words, the Irish epithet is represented by a synonymous epithet in Wales, a fact indicating either that in Wales the Irish term was understood, or that a common tradition existed in the two countries. Hence it would not be at all surprising if we found the Morrigan's name interpreted in Wales as "great queen," and rendered *amherodres*, the Empress.

But the Empress of the *Peredur* is, as we have seen, a pure fay, and not distinctively a battle-maiden at all. The story of the *Mabinogi* in fact would have no bearing upon the question before us, if it were not that classes of supernatural beings insist upon poaching on each other's preserves,⁴ and that certain common attributes attract members of one order into the territory of a similar order without regard to the antecedents of either. I have spoken above of the indications that the Irish war-goddess Ana was made into a fay in popular tradition.⁵ In the Irish story *Noinden Ulad* (*The Debility of the Ultonian Warriors*),⁶ which there is reason to believe contains very early material,⁷ the name of the Irish battle-maiden, Macha, appears as that of a true fay, who comes, a mysterious stranger from an unknown land, to love and help a mortal,

¹ See Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Paris, 1889, I, 298, note 1; Paris, *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 223.

² See Hibbert *Lectures*, p. 120; *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 128. Stokes and Windisch, III, ii, 327, 357.

³ See Rhys, *Academy*, Jan. 7, 1882, 1; Nutt, *Folk-Lore Record*, V (1882), 13.

⁴ Cf. Kittredge, *Publ. of Mod. Language Ass. of America*, XV (1900), 430.

⁵ On the transformation of the Celtic god Mider into a fairy king, see Kittredge, *Am. Journ. of Phil.*, VII (1886), 196.

⁶ Published and translated by Windisch, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe*, 1884, pp. 336 ff. Translated *Ép. Celt.*, I, 320 ff.; *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 96 ff. Cf. also *Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), 151.

⁷ The material is much earlier than our earliest extant version, which is contained in the *Book of Leinster*, a late twelfth-century manuscript. See *Lays of Graelent*, etc., pp. 169 ff.

whom she suffers to leave her only on condition that he never reveal their love, and whom despite his disregard of her command she saves in a moment of peril. Macha is said in the story to be the daughter of Saimreth mac Imbraith, that is *Saimreth the son of Ocean*, and hence we may infer that she came from the Celtic fairyland which is often situated under the waves.¹ Moreover, it is reasonable to suppose that Cuchulinn's marvellous horse, Liath Macha (*the Gray of Macha*), which rises from a lake for the hero's capturing hand and returns to the lake after his master's final battle,² is an other-world gift from the fay Macha, whose name he bore.³ Furthermore, the attributes of a war-goddess as the protectress of a warrior in battle would be peculiarly ready to coalesce with those of a fay, who protects her favorite hero in an hour of danger. Hild,⁴ Sigrun, Svafa⁵ in Norse mythology are very like fays in their relations to the heroes whom they love and guard. The Empress herself by means of her fairy stone protects Peredur on his quest of the Addanc. Saxo Grammaticus⁶ tells a story of Hother, who one day when he was hunting lost his way in a mist, and came upon a company of maidens :— *Illae suis ductibus auspiciisque maxime bellorum fortunam gubernari testantur. Saepe enim se nemini conspicuas proeliis interesse, clandestinisque subsidiis optatos amicis praebere successus. Quippe conciliare prospera, adversa infligere posse pro libitu, memorabant.* Hother listens to words of counsel from them; the scene vanishes from his sight, and he finds that he is alone in the open country. Peter der Diemringer von Stauffenberg, the hero of a Middle High German poem,⁷ has a fairy mistress

¹ See *Ép. Celt.*, I, 325, note; *Lays of Graelent*, etc., p. 171, note 1. See below, p. 168.

² See *Ép. Celt.*, I, 103, 343, 345.

³ With this wonderful horse who bears the name of a maiden descended from a sea king cf. Galatée, the beautiful steed given to Hector by Morgain (*Roman de Troie*, vv. 7989 ff.); the name looks as if the horse were called after Galatea, the daughter of Nereus.

⁴ See Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, ed. Müller, Copenhagen, 1839, I, 238, 239; see note on 242, line 4.

⁵ See *Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, I, 15 ff., II, 5 ff.; *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, II; Bugge-Schofield, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1899, pp. 186, 189 ff., 216, 217, 234, 330, 336 ff.; Grimm, *D. M.*, I, 348; II, 391. ⁶ Ed. cit., I, 112.

⁷ Ca. 1300. *Der Ritter von Stauffenberg*, ed. Jänicke, *Altdeutsche Studien von O. Jänicke, Steinmeyer, Wilmanns*, Berlin, 1871; cf. Child, *Ballads*, I, 371, 372.

whom he met by the wayside. In response to his words of love she confides to him that she was waiting for him, for she has loved him ever since he could first mount a horse, and she has often protected him in tourney and in battle, though invisible to him. The subject of the poem is an exceedingly wide-spread fairy theme, and there can be no question that the beautiful lady who has protected Peter is a fay.

From these examples it is clear that the attitude of the Morrigan toward Cuchulinn, whom she protects in his youthful exploits, although she spurs him on to fresh trials of his strength, whom she seeks in the hope of winning his love, and whom she tries to save from death on the battlefield, is in itself such as easily to lead the popular imagination to confuse her with a fay. Accordingly we should not be at all surprised to see the Morrigan becoming in popular superstition a true fay, nor to find either her own name, or a Welsh synonym, applied to any fairy queen in Wales, where its significance may have been felt. But in France the name would certainly not be so transparent nor its significance so sure to be understood; in *Graelemor* and *Guingamor*, for instance, the *-mor* (great) has completely lost in French its value as an epithet, and has become a part of the name. Hence in France *Morrigan* would more readily be regarded strictly as a proper name by which the queen of the fairies was appropriately called. From very early times proper names have shared such a fate as this on foreign lips. The Phoenician term *kabirim*, which meant "the great," and which was applied by the Phoenicians to the great gods of Samothrace, the Greeks turned into a proper name and designated the Samothracian deities as *Kάβειροι*. The Phoenician name *Melicertes*, which means "king of the city," was given by Tyrian traders to the chief local divinity of any Greek town, and as a result, the Greek god Palaimon, who is associated with Corinth, becomes Melicertes.¹

IV

In the light of tradition gathered from many sources, no one of which alone is illuminating, the history of Morgain may be traced with a reasonable degree of clearness. We will suppose

¹ See Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, Bonn, 1899, pp. 151, 152.

that the Irish battle-goddess, the Morrigan, became in the conception of the Celtic people more and more a fay; when traditions about her reached Wales, where the meaning of her name was felt and her traits recognized as in a large measure those of a fay, she was regarded as the great fairy queen. When tradition was in this stage, we may conceive it to have entered France, where the Morrigan's name was felt essentially as a proper name, though her power was that of a great fairy queen rather than that of a war-goddess. We have no right to assert positively whether the tradition came directly from Ireland or through Wales, but from the remoteness of the associations between the Morrigan and Morgain, from elements in the chessboard episode, as well as from the first story of Morgain that we can postulate, it appears more probable that before the tradition reached Armorica, it passed in Wales through an intermediate stage in which the Morrigan's name had become associated plainly with the conception of a fairy queen. In this fay, whom we know in France as Morgain, the traits are naturally most prominent that were most pronounced in the Irish war-goddess, and incidents told of the war-goddess are repeated of her. Hence since the Morrigan stood in peculiarly close relations to one hero, Cuchulinn, we need not be surprised to find that, as story after story told of other heroes became attached to Arthur, the theme of the Morrigan's love and hatred for Cuchulinn was repeated of Arthur and Morgain. Whether a story parallel to that of Fand and Cuchulinn had already been connected with Arthur's name or not, it would be very easy for the two episodes that recounted the offers of love made to Cuchulinn by two supernatural women to become confused — particularly if both incidents were told on foreign soil¹ — and to give us the form of early love story that we have conjectured was told of Morgain and Arthur. Naturally the original traits of the Morrigan appear in the character, then, of Arthur's fairy mistress, although in our early story her *rôle* reminds us of Fand's. But such a development of Morgain from the Morrigan would not lead us to expect that Morgain's attributes and activities

¹ Cf. Cuchulinn's rejection of the Morrigan's aid, and Laeg's of Liban's, *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXVIII (1887), 597.

would be limited to those of the battle-goddess; they would embrace all the arts of a powerful fay, and would doubtless appear in just such a variety of forms as those predicated of Morgain in our early sources. When she was once established in France as a great fay, certain developments in the saga arose. In the first place she was subjected to rationalization, in which her sisterhood to Arthur very probably had no small influence. Although this tendency is perceptible in the *Vita Merlini* the first marked trace of it is evident in Hartmann von Aue's long and composite description of Morgain in the *Erec*.¹ Hartmann represents Fâmurgân as the king's sister, who died like any mortal woman, and he feels that an attempt at explanation for her attainments in the magic art is necessary:—*ich enweiz wer siz lerte*. In fact this passage from Hartmann throws some light upon the situation in the prose romances, where Morgain's title *la fée*,²

¹ See p. 45, note 1.

² Morgain is so frequently designated *la fée*, that the term becomes almost an integral part of her name. See *Roman de Troie*, v. 7989; *Roman de Thèbes*, II, Appendix I, v. 2812; *Erec*, v. 1957; *Prose Erec*, p. 264; *Perceval*, v. 30,240; *Bel Inconnu*, v. 4263; *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 3493, 30,381; *Florian et Florete*, v. 5145; *Ogier le Danois*, *Renart le Nouvel*, see below, p. 256; *Jus Adan*, p. 76; *Vulgate Merlin*, pp. 77,361; *Huth Merlin*, I, 120; *Prophecies*, pp. xliiii, xlv, xcv; *Löseth*, §§ 265, 624; *Livre d'Artus*, P., p. 13; *English Merlin*, pp. 86, 374, 375, 508; *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, v. 2446; *Malory*, Bk. I, ch. 2, 20; II, 11; IV, 4, 6-15; VI, 3; VIII, 24, 28; IX, 13, 25, 26, 41-43; X, 1, 17, 20, 35-38; XI, 1; XXI, 6. See the German forms below on p. 258, note 2, in which *fē* has become engrafted upon the name; cf. the common Italian Fata Morgana; see p. 251. This designation may be a remnant of an early stage of Morgain's history, an echo of the popular interpretation of *Morrigan*. She is the great queen, the fay; hence *Morgain la fée*. Or it may have been used simply to stamp Morgain as a feminine being, because of the masculine form of her proper name.

Margot-la-Fée in a number of the districts of the Côtes-du-Nord is a generic term for fays who dwell in rocks and caves (see Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la H. Bretagne*, I, 74, 106). There is not sufficient material to establish a direct connection between Morgain la fée and the Margot-la-fées. These latter, be it said, resemble the fays of the sea to whom the Morganes of Ouessant show similarities (see Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup.*, I, 106; below, p. 251, note 2). Probably the name of the great fairy queen has been changed in popular tradition to the familiar name that was nearest it in sound, just as Sancta Marina in the Latin calendar appears as Hagia Maria in the Greek, though since the same tradition is told of her as of Sancta Pelagia, *Marina* is assuredly the correct name (see Usener, *Legenden der Pelagia*, Bonn, 1879, p. xvii. Cf. the suggestion of Rhys, *Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, 1892-1893, p. 16, that in a poem which he cites from the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, *Meredid* (= Margarita) is a popular substitution

and her acquisition of necromancy are explained in various ways.¹

In the second place, Morgain came to be regarded as a type of fairy queen, and in some of the later sources her Morrigan nature is altogether overshadowed by the more general conception. This is true, as we have seen, in the Ogier story and in the *Auberon*; it is also evident in *Floriant et Florete*, the *Jus Adan*, the *Chanson d'Esclarmonde*, and *Brun de la Montaigne*,² all of which illustrate the fact that to Morgain's name there were in time attached common and typical fairy situations, when her place had come to be indisputably that of the fairy queen of romance.

Few points in the above course of tradition can be said to be proved; but where there is ground for each conjecture of a series, we should probably be led at every turn into deeper pitfalls and snares than we have been encountering, if we were treading on purely debatable land. Hardly would the facts suggested by our material dovetail so nicely if we were not

for an original *Morgen*). The change of a specific to a generic name is not unusual in the speech of children; we can all recall examples of it. In fact the very name *Margot-la-Fée*, whatever its origin, is an illustration of such a development (cf. p. 100, note 1. For an example of the easy confusion between *Margot* and *Morgan*, cf. the variants of *Margos* in *Aliscans*, v. 4714, given in Rolin's edition, Leipzig, 1894, — *Morgaus*, *Morgans*, *Margot*; see note on v. 4716; cf. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, p. 348).

¹ In the *Lancelot* (II, lxix) it is said that because of Morgain's interest in enchantment, she left human society and passed day and night in the forests by the fountains, so that people foolishly said that she was not a woman, but they called her Morgain la déesse (in Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 238, *la fée*. For the use of *déesse* as synonymous with *fée*, see Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, p. 351; Grimm, *D. M.*, I, 140; cf. *Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, v. 2452; Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, v. 5160). Another account preserved in the *Huth Merlin* (I, 120) and *Vulgate Merlin* (p. 77) says that in her girlhood Morgain was sent to a convent where she learned the arts, astronomy and *fisique*: — *Et par cele fisique et par le sens quele ot lapeloit on Morgain la fée*. The *English Merlin* (p. 86) tells the same story, but also reports that Morgain learned so much necromancy from Merlin that *the peple cleped hir afterward Morgain le fee, the suster of kyng Arthur* (p. 508). In the *Livre d'Artus*, P. (§ 135) still a different reason for the title is given. Morgain instructs in her magic art certain ladies of the land so that throughout the country-side she is called *Morgain la fée*. One of the most ordinary results of rationalization is the explanation of a fay's power as art learned from an enchanter, or as due to an acquaintance with astrology; cf. above, pp. 43, 114, below, p. 205; *Partonopeus*, vv. 4575 ff.; *Bel Inconnu*, vv. 4838 ff.

² See below, pp. 250 ff.

reconstructing with an approximate degree of accuracy the original of which they form the component parts.

The Irish Morrigan, developed by tradition into a fay, but retaining her pronounced original attributes, transferred through Wales to Armorica, and on French soil attracting to herself a romantic saga of which the Morrigan myth forms the kernel, and which manifests itself in consistent developments, — this is the being that we have reason for conceiving Morgain la fée to be. Her character is not so complex as it looks at first sight, for she is tenacious of her Celtic prototype, and as a rule marshals her attributes closely about those of the Irish battle-goddess.

CHAPTER XII

LA DAME DU LAC

I

THE NATURE OF THE DAME DU LAC

ALTHOUGH in the romances there are very many fays endowed like Morgain and Niniane with a proper name, a large number who are important as the *amies* of valorous knights are nameless. The fay's lack of a proper name is noticeable also in the early Celtic sources. The maiden who enticed Bran to Emain is simply the woman from Emain, the queen with whom Maelduin sojourned is only the Queen of the Amorous Isle, Connla's love is the Maiden from the Plain of Delight. They are types, scarcely having an individual personality; each exists for the narrator, not because she already has an independent history, but merely because the love of an other-world damsel will add to the brilliancy of some special hero. Hence, doubtless, the vague terms in which the Celtic fays are named. In the romances also there is a vast number of fairy-mistress stories that are practically unattached, in which the fay is called simply *la pucière*, *la dame*, or *la damoisele*, and is characterized by some epithet appropriate to her kind.¹ In the case of the Dame du Lac her title at once betrays her fairy nature; for the Celtic imagination placed the other world not only beyond the sea, but also beneath the sea (*Tír na n-Og*, *Tír fa Thuinn*).² From such a land,

¹ E.g., *la pucière*, *Perceval*, vv. 8022-8825, *pass.*; 20,469 ff., *pass.*; *la pucière esgarée*, *Ib.*, v. 20,393; *la pucelle envoysie*, *Ib.*, III, 11, MS. 1530; *la pucière de malaire*, *Ib.*, vv. 22,604 ff.; *la sore pucière*, *Ib.*, vv. 39,128 ff.; *la sage pucelle de Galles*, Löseth, p. 466; *la pucière as blanches mains*, see below, p. 173; *the damsel Savage* (Linot), *Malory*, Bk. VII, ch. 33; *la pucière del pavillon*, | *ains de li n'oï autre nom*, *Perceval*, vv. 13,421-22; *la franche pucière*, *Le Chevalier du Papegau*, ed. Heuckenkamp, Halle, 1896, p. 51; *la sage demoiselle*, Löseth, § 52; *la sage dame de la forest sans retour*, *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 157; see above, p. 93.

² See *Bran*, § 42; *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889), 164 (cf. with this the description of the lake where the Dame du Lac dwells, below, p. 186; cf. also *Huth*

apparently, the fay Macha came to this world.¹ To the same other world belonged the kindly *pucières des puis*, of whom we read in the *Perceval*,² who when a wayfaring knight rested by a spring were wont to arise from the water bearing golden goblets and dishes, in which they served him the food and drink that he craved. A familiar example of the kind of being who dwelt beneath the waves is given also in the lay of *Tydorel*.³

The beautiful queen of Bretagne is visited one day in her garden by a tall and handsome knight, who gives her greeting, and confesses that he has come in quest of her. When the queen begs him to tell her who he is, for reply he lifts her into his saddle and rides off with her to a lake, across which he who swims shall have all that his heart desires. The mysterious lover seats the queen on the shore of the lake, then, mounted as he is, plunges into the waves and disappears from sight.

De l'autre part est fors issuz,
Si est a la dame venuz;
"Dame," fet il, "desoz cest bois
Par ceste voie vien et vois :
Ne me demandez noient plus." ⁴

He takes the queen back to the garden, but continues to visit her secretly until their love is discovered. A son, Tydorel, is born to them, who, after he has grown to the age for knighthood, hears the story of his birth; instantly he mounts his horse, spurs off to the lake, plunges into its depths, and never returns.

Another hero of the same nature as this knight of the lake is Aalardin del Lac, who figures in the first continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*.⁵

Aalardin del Lac is a knight from a distant land, who dwells in a beautiful pavilion spread on the banks of a stream that flows near a grove where birds sing with marvellous sweetness. Within the pavilion maidens and their *amis* sing caroles and make merry. At the door are two figures of gold and silver, wrought by enchantment, one of which holds a harp, the other a dart. If he who is base attempts to enter, the dart is thrown at him and the harp sounds discordantly; when a wounded knight who is

Merlin, I, 201) ; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 290, 292-311 ; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 121 ; *The Lad of the Ferule*, ed. Hyde (Irish Texts Soc.), London, 1899, pp. 33 ff. ; Pierre Berçuire, *Reductorium Morale*, Bk. xiv, Prologue, cited by Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, London, 1839, p. xxxii ; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 128 ; Lot, *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 325, note 3 ; Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 76 ; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 95.

¹ See pp. 160, 161.

² Vv. 29-62.

³ Ed. G. Paris (*Lais Inédits*), *Rom.*, VIII (1879), 66-72.

⁴ Vv. 105 ff.

⁵ Vv. 13,011-13,480, 15,426-15,639.

worthy is brought to the tent, the sound of the harp banishes the sense of pain, and he awakes as from a grievous dream.

One day the knight Caradoc, separated from his companions in a stag-hunt, is overtaken by a storm. As he stands under the sheltering branches of a tree, he sees a marvellous light moving toward him through the forest, and hears birds singing as gaily as in summer. In the midst of the brightness there rides a great knight, whom Caradoc salutes as he passes; but he answers never a word, and goes on his way surrounded by the blaze of light and accompanied by the birds. Caradoc follows, but can with difficulty keep him in sight, and rides on in swift pursuit to a beautiful hall where many knights are seated playing chess and draughts. Here the knight dismounts, comes laughing toward Caradoc, greets him by name, and admits that he has purposely led him a chase, in order to entice him to his abode. His name, he adds, is Aalardin del Lac.

There is scarcely a detail of importance in this description of Aalardin del Lac that cannot be paralleled from pure fairy material. The beautiful pavilion, the marvellous birds, the enchanted figures that test the merits of the comers to Aalardin's tent, the magic harp, the gay company, the stag-hunt, the storm and druidic light¹ by which Aalardin leads his desired guest to his dwelling,²—these are all familiar characteristics of fairyland, and we may well believe that Aalardin's appellation *del Lac* is no empty title, but that in an earlier source, he, quite as truly as the splendid father of Tydorel, was a knight from the other world under the waves.³

¹ Cf. the fairy light preceded by a thunderstorm and druidic mist in *Manawyddan, Mabinogion*, III, 165; see also *Perceval*, vv. 20,880 ff.; *Partonopeus*, vv. 4625, 4626; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, London, 1866, p. 233; Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, pp. 138–142.

² With the pursuit of Aalardin cf. Pwyll's pursuit of Rhiannon, above, pp. 3, 4.

³ Furthermore Aalardin has a sister, *la pucelle del pavillon* (see p. 167, note 1), who is skilled in the healing art.

For other-world beings who dwelt beneath the waves cf. the story of Liban, summarized above, pp. 9 ff., with *Silva Gadelica*, II, 184, where Liban appears as a fay walking on the water, coming in quest of a mortal hero whom she aids; *Bodleian Dinnsheenas*, ed. with translation by Stokes, *Folk Lore*, III (1892), 485:—Lén Linnfiachlach, the craftsman of Síd Buidb (Bodb's Fairy Mound), builds under the lake the bright vessel of Fann, the Long-haired, daughter of Flidaes; *Prophecies*, p. xv:—Certain women dwell beneath the water near an island in the sea; one of them will be taken by a fisherman in his net and brought to shore, where she will marry a mortal. She will refuse to utter a word, and owing to a restriction laid upon her by her fairy mother, when she finds that she will be compelled to speak, she will cast herself into the sea and return whence she came. Cf. Campbell, III, 411, note, for a similar story. See further, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, ed. Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1846, I, lxi ff.

Thus we find abundant evidence that the name of the Dame du Lac indicates her fairy origin, and is as appropriate to a fay as *la damoisele de l'île faée, la pucière de l'île d'Or*, or *la sage dame de la forêt sans retor*.

II

THE FAIRY GUARDIAN OF LANCELOT

No fay is connected in tradition with Morgain so intimately as the Dame du Lac. The romantic material dealing with her does not exhibit so large a variety of typical fairy episodes as that which we have been reviewing in our study of Morgain, and it forms by no means so thoroughly developed a tradition. It is limited to three chief groups:—those stories in which the Dame du Lac is represented as the guardian of Lancelot, those in which she appears as an opponent of Morgain, or is brought into contrast with her, and those in which she is called the love of Merlin. The first class is by far the most important, and since each of the others may be explained as the result of late influences working upon a narrative already developed, to discover the underlying conceptions in the story of the Dame du Lac, we must examine first those episodes showing her relations to Lancelot. No one of these has reached us in a truly primitive form. The tradition had advanced several degrees beyond its original stage when it was embodied in our earliest extant version. We shall approach this more intelligently, if we leave it for the present, and examine first the parallel sources which contain earlier forms of the same theme. Of these there are several; for although the very title of the Dame du Lac predisposes us not to seek a definite antecedent for her as for Morgain, she belongs to a type of being, who, to quote from Alfred Nutt, “appears . . . in every form and at all periods of Celtic mythic literature, and forms one of the most distinctive and characteristic personages of that literature,”¹ {namely the supernatural woman who instructs a young hero in the manly exploits — skill in arms or the chase — that fit him for some special purpose. In the stories through which we know the fairy guardian, we find her occupying one of three relations to

¹ *Folk Lore Record*, IV (1881), 32.

the hero. She is his mistress, his mother, or simply his instructress. One of the early examples of such a personage is contained in a version of the *Tochmarc Emire*, which Kuno Meyer assigns to possibly the eighth century :¹—

Cuchulinn is induced by his enemy Forgall the Wily, to go by a perilous road to the dwelling of Scathach, where he may learn soldierly feats. He is welcomed to the dun by Scathach's daughter, who at once becomes enamoured of the young chieftain's beauty, but relinquishes him to her mother for the night. As the maiden serves Cuchulinn at meat, he stirs up a fray in the dun by taking hold of her and breaking her finger. A champion of Scathach's attacks him, and in the ensuing combat meets his death. "Sorrowful was the woman Scathach at this; so that he [Cuchulinn] said to her he would take (upon himself) the service of the man that had fallen."² As Scathach's champion, Cuchulinn abides in her dwelling and learns skill at arms of her. He gives his love to her daughter, yet Scathach also occupies toward him the position of a mistress. Many are the marvellous feats that he learns under her tutelage, before he takes leave of her and goes to his own land. "And she told him what befel him after he came to Erin, and Scathach said this: 'Great peril awaits thee.'"³

Wild and mysterious though Scathach is, she may be defined as an other-world being,⁴ who is Cuchulinn's instructress in martial skill; as the defender of her dwelling he puts in practice the arts learned of her; she apparently treats him as her lover, and moreover she knows his future career.

If we turn now to much later sources, to the lay of *Tyolet* and to Renaud de Beaujeu's *Bel Inconnu*,⁵ we find what is undoubtedly a very early conception of the fay's attitude to the young hero whom she fits for the task that awaits him.

Tyolet lives alone in the forest with his mother, a widow (*la veuve dame*). and he is skilled in the chase, the possessor of a valuable gift, taught him by a fay, a magic art in whistling.

Une fée ce li ora,
Et a sifler li enseigna :
Dex onc nule beste ne fist
Qu'il a son sifler ne preist.⁶

¹ The following summary is based upon the translation made by Kuno Meyer, *Rev. Celt.*, IV (1890), 437 ff. For a later version belonging to the twelfth century, see Meyer, *Arch. Rev.*, I (1881), 68, 234, 298. ² P. 449. ³ P. 453.

⁴ In the later version of the *Tochmarc Emire* the other-world character of Scathach's dwelling is more pronounced. Beside being reached, as in the earlier version, by a path that leads through other-world perils, it is situated on an island connected with the mainland by the Bridge of the Cliff; see above, p. 85, note 3.

⁵ For dates see above, p. 7, note 1.

⁶ Vv. 45-48.

One day in the woods the lad gives chase to a stag, which, instead of responding to his whistle, turns away from him, leads him in pursuit to a stream, across which it swims, and then is transformed before Tyolet's astonished eyes into a knight fully armed, and mounted on a beautiful horse. The knight by his words fills the boy's heart with longing for knighthood, and bids him tell his mother that he would fain become a knight. In answer to Tyolet's wish, his mother gives him all the armor that she has in her keeping, and sadly sends him forth to Arthur's court. His first adventure after his arrival is a quest proposed to the knights of Arthur by the daughter of the King of Logres. This maiden demands that a knight cut off the white foot of the stag with hair that shines like gold, guarded by seven lions; her white brachet shall lead him to the stag's haunt, and the reward shall be her own hand. Guided by the brachet, Tyolet, by means of his magic whistling, charms the stag, and compels it to come to him and stand motionless while he cuts off the foot. The lions he slays by his own prowess. He returns to court, and is rewarded by the love of the maiden, who takes him to live in her land, where he is king and she is queen.

Although in Tyolet's secluded boyhood, the prominent figure is his mother, it is entirely by fairy agencies that he is brought to the point where he can perform the adventure leading to the fay's love. The many stories cited above of the messengers used by a fay to win a young knight to herself teach us to recognize here at once that the magic whistle¹ and the druidic stag that shifts its shape to that of the mounted knight² are the means employed by the fay to prepare him for his final quest, and to compel him to the series of adventures that will give him to her for her lord. [There can be no doubt that the other-world influence which guided Tyolet's life emanated originally from the fairy princess of Logres. We see that this was the case all the more clearly when we compare her with the fay of the Ile d'Or, the love of Gawain's son, Guinglain, in *Bel Inconnu*.

Bel Inconnu arrives at Arthur's court, an unknown youth, unacquainted with his own name and parentage: —

*biel fil m'apieloit ma mère;
Ne je ne sai se je oi père.*³

As his first adventure he undertakes to rescue from enchantment the lady Blonde Esmerée, and on his way to the place of her captivity he

¹ Cf. the magic signal with the hand taught Auberon at his birth by a fay, by which he can summon to himself bird or beast, however wild they be; see *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 3551-3556.

² For a discussion of the shape-shifter employed by the fay to direct the hero to her land, see Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 98 ff. ³ Vv. 117 ff.

passes the Ile d'Or, the abode of *la pucele as blanches mains*. Here he overcomes a knight, who in a pavilion before his lady's abode defends it against all comers. Thus Bel Inconnu wins the right to the fay's love. He does not linger long to enjoy it, but soon leaves the Ile d'Or to accomplish the adventure on which he is bent. After he has released Blonde Esmerée from the spell of which she is the victim, he hears a mysterious voice telling him that his name is Guinglain, and that he is the child of Gawain and the fay Blanchemal. He wearies of his separation from the maiden of the Ile d'Or, and at length wins her forgiveness for his desertion of her; then he learns that she has been the moving cause of all the incidents of his life, and has had foreknowledge of his every deed. Her words are highly significant in fairy tradition.

Et saciés que moult a lonc tens
Qu'amer vos commençai premiers,
Ains que vos fuissies chevaliers,
Vos amai je, car bien le soi,
Qu'en le maisnie Artur le roi
N'en avoit i millor vasal
Fors vostre pere le loial.
Por ce vos amai je forment,
Ciés vostre mère moult sovent,
Aloie je por vos véir;
Mais nus ne m'en fesist issir.¹

She had known all his destiny; she had incited the messenger from Blonde Esmerée to seek in Arthur's court a knight to rescue her mistress, knowing that Guinglain was he who would undertake the deed. Hers had been the mysterious voice that he had heard tell him his name and parentage, after he had released Blonde Esmerée from enchantment. With all her power she had aided him through his career, because of the great love that she bore him, and her sole object had been to win him for her *ami*.

Saciés moult me sui entremise
En tot sanblans, en tot servise,
Comment avoir je vos péusse
Ne comment vostre amie fusse
Or vos ai je, Dius en ait los!
Dès or mais serrons à repos,
Entre moi et vos, sans grant plait;
Et saciés bien tot entresait,
Que tant que croire me vaurés
Ne vaurés rien que vos n'aiés.
Et quant mon conseil ne croirés
Ce saciés bien, lors me perdrés!²

Unquestionably in the life of Tyolet and Guinglain the fay plays the same part. She fixes her love upon the hero while he is a mere lad dwelling with his mother, and destines him to

¹ Vv. 4870-4880.

² Vv. 4913-4924.

accomplish the adventure appointed by her as that which shall give a knight the right to her love. The smiting off of the stag's white foot is quite as much a means of testing the hero's valor before he is admitted to the fay's favor¹ as is the encounter of Bel Inconnu with Malgier le Gris at the entrance to the Ile d'Or. Renaud, when he represents the maiden of the Ile d'Or as desiring Guinglain for her knight and also as impelling him to the rescue of Blonde Esmerée, an adventure which will eventually take him away from her to marry the rescued damsel, is undoubtedly modifying his source to suit his own design. We may be very sure that the true fay does not lead the hero to the rescue of some mortal damsel whom he is to wed. She trains him for purposes that directly concern herself, and have to do with the accomplishment of her own desires.²

¹ For the part of the stag and brachet cf. below, pp. 228-232. Cf. also the druidical fawn with a golden lustre upon it, described in *Cóir Anmann*, Stokes and Windisch, III, ii, 319: Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, pp. 25 ff.

² A story throwing a side-light upon the theme that we have been examining, is the account of Peredur's visit to the sorceresses of Gloucester, contained in the Welsh *Peredur* (*Mabinogion*, I, 322 ff., 369, 370). Peredur is brought up by his mother in the wilderness, and grows strong and agile, able to hunt and slay the deer, gaining in boldness and strength. After he has set out to seek adventure, he passes the night at the dwelling of the nine sorceresses of Gloucester, who are devastating the country. In the morning he sees a sorceress at her evil work, and attacks her so fiercely that she cries him mercy, calling him by name. "How knowest thou, hag, that I am Peredur?" "By destiny, and the foreknowledge that I should suffer harm from thee. And thou shalt take a horse and armour of me; and with me thou shalt go to learn chivalry and the use of thy arms." Peredur takes surety of the hag that she will not injure the land further, and goes with her to the palace of the sorceresses. "And there he remained for three weeks, and then he made choice of a horse and arms and went his way." Later we learn that the sorceresses have been destined to be slain by Peredur. Arthur and his household, Peredur among them, attack them, and slay them every one.

The story is confused, and just why Peredur should have gone to learn chivalry to the abode of creatures so evil as the mysterious sorceresses, or why they should have trained him from whom they knew that they were destined to suffer harm, is not at once clear.

The modern Celtic folk tale, *The Sea Maiden*, which Campbell (I, No. iv) reports, helps explain the situation: — An old fisherman, who is childless, is out fishing one day when a sea-maiden rises by the side of his boat, and in return for his promise that he will give her his first son, not only sends him plenty of fish but gives him three magic grains for his aged wife, who if she eats them will have three sons; when his son is three years old, the fisherman must remember the sea-maiden. The child is born, but his father fails to take him to the sea-maiden

We do not know Renaud's direct source for the fay as the protectress of Guinglain's career. He probably used a version of Guinglain's boyhood such as appears in the English

on the appointed day, and although he promises to bring him to her at the end of four years, he once more breaks his word, and this time is bidden by the sea-maiden come again at the end of seven years bringing the child with him. At the end of seven years the lad hears of his father's promise, and determines to go out into the world to try his fortune. He passes through manifold unimportant experiences, but his chief adventure is with a terrific monster who makes a vast amount of trouble by coming out of the loch where she lives and carrying off human beings to her abode. She seizes upon the hero, and takes him to her dwelling, but releases him for the sake of some jewels promised her by a princess whom he has married. Next she takes possession of the princess, but the hero succeeds at last in killing the monster and regaining his wife.

Through a variant of the story (Campbell, I, 100 ff.) we learn who the frightful beast actually is; for in the variant the mermaid herself rises from the loch, and carries the hero away to her dwelling; but she returns him to his wife for the sake of some gaudy dresses that the lady spreads on the shore to attract her notice.

In the former of these versions the two parts of the story are ill-connected. The sea-maiden is represented as having some mysterious and special interest in the lad's career; she not only occasions his birth by her magic, but wishes to have him in her keeping in his childhood, and awaits his growth to manly strength. Yet her connection with him is apparently severed from the moment when he sets forth from his father's house, and the listener is left to wonder what happens when one forgets to regard the will of a sea-maiden. But the fay is never thwarted in her purpose, and the variant, which shows us that it was the maiden herself who transported the youth to her dwelling, gives us good reason to feel sure that the monster is the fay bespelled into a hideous shape, from which she can be freed only by the hero whom she has herself destined for this purpose. This, as we have already often seen, is a common type of story, and some such theme as this renders the form assumed in the *Peredur* by the account of the sorceresses of Gloucester intelligible. In this original the supernatural women who trained the young hero may quite possibly, like the sea-maiden of the modern tale, have been bespelled, and instead of being really destroyed by the prowess of their pupil at arms, were only freed from enchantment. The fay, however, is supreme in power; hence originally she could not have been represented as bespelled, for there is no magic greater than that of which she is mistress. But since she herself could shift her shape, and since she had minions who were shape-shifters at her control, from the fact that she often tested the hero's courage by demanding that he pursue or vanquish a transformed fairy being, there would very naturally arise the story that she herself had been transformed, and was waiting for the coming of the hero to be released.

An interesting parallel to this class of story occurs in the *Völsungasaga*, in the account of the birth of Völsung, where a supernatural maiden performs a similar part to that of the sea-maiden in Campbell's versions. The parents of Völsung have long been childless. Hljóth, the daughter of Hrímnir, the giant, in bird form brings to Völsung's father an apple, which he takes to his wife, who eats of it, and in consequence bears Völsung. When the hero grows to manhood, he marries Hljóth, whom Hrímnir sends to him. See *Völsungasaga*, cap. i, ii.

Libeaus Desconus,¹ according to which Guinglain is the son of Gawain and a maiden whom he met "be a forest syde";² the child's boyhood, like that of Perceval, is passed with his mother in the solitude of the woods, which he leaves at a suitable age to seek knighthood at Arthur's court. He is never represented here as the object of a fay's protecting care from his earliest years. Renaud's original for this element in his narrative was evidently early in character, for although the *pucele as blanches mains* is rationalized, her part is near to primitive conceptions.³ She is a true Celtic fay, all-powerful, intolerant of the slightest infringement of her will, and having as the single aim of her existence to lure to herself her chosen mortal favorite. In type the story that Renaud knew belonged to the same class as *Tyolet*. We might easily suppose that for narrative and personal reasons he was simply attaching to Guinglain's name an unattached bit of current fairy tradition, if it were not that we have other sources of information concerning the fairy protectress of Guinglain's youth. In these sources she is his mother, or simply his instructress. Thus, the Guinglain material shows the guardian fay occupying toward him each one of her three typical relations to the hero, mentioned above; for according to Renaud and some other sources Guinglain is said to be the child of Gawain and a fay, — Flôrie in *Wigalois*, a maiden "met be a forest syde" and therefore doubtless a fay, in *Libeaus Desconus*, the fay Blanchemal in *Bel Inconnu*.⁴ In all of these romances the hero is brought up in seclusion by his mother, and at a fitting age is sent by her, properly equipped, to Arthur's court to seek knighthood.

According to *Wigalois*, Gawain marries an other-world princess, Flôrie, whom he leaves after a six months' sojourn to return to court. In the

¹ Ed. Kaluza, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 8, 9.

² See Schofield, *Studies and Notes*, IV, 106 ff.; cf. 59, 154, 157.

³ See *ib.*, 108, 109, 197.

⁴ Some confusion in tradition is indicated by the reading adopted by Hippeau (*Bel Inconnu*, v. 3208), *Blanchemains*, for the name of Guinglain's mother as well as of his fairy guardian; Foerster, however, gives *Blancemal* as the manuscript reading (see *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 176, note 2); cf. also *Perceval*, VI, 187, where *Blancemal* appears as the name of a true fay.

Dame Ragnell is merely mentioned as the mother of Guinglain in the *Weddyng of Syr Gawayne*. See Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, London, 1839, vv. 800 ff.

fulness of time, Flôrie gives birth to a son, whom she brings up with the greatest care; she and her maidens train him in valor and in knightly accomplishments until he has grown into a brave and handsome lad. He hears of his father, and entreats his mother to let him go forth in search of Gawain. She reluctantly allows him to go to Arthur's court. When he arrives he is given into Gawain's care for instruction in knighthood. Later, from the soul of a dead king, whose daughter Wigalois frees from an enchanter's power, he learns that his father is the same Gawain under whose tutelage he has been living.¹

This story brings us into touch with an old and wide-spread narrative formula, according to which a child born illegitimately or posthumously is brought up in seclusion by his mother, or if, as not infrequently occurs, he is separated from her in infancy, by a childless couple, a nurse, or a supernatural agent. He is kept in ignorance of his father's name and of his inherited rights, until circumstances stimulate his curiosity, he learns something of his history, and goes forth to find his father, or to regain his ancestral possessions.² Frequently, through misunderstanding or ignorance, he meets his unknown father in combat, and recognition by means of a token, or in some other way, ensues. In some variants, as in *Wigalois*, the union between the boy's parents has taken place in the other world, and the mother is a fay. The lay of *Doon*³ furnishes another example of this latter situation.

Doon, a knight of Brittany, rides to a castle, which although said to be in Daneborc (Edinburgh), is evidently a magic dwelling, and here he meets certain apparently impossible conditions imposed by the fairy mistress of the castle upon her wooers, who all alike have been unsuccessful. Doon remains with her but three nights, then returns to his home, bidding her give their son a certain ring when he has grown to a suitable age, and send him in search of his father. The child is born, his mother lavishes the most careful training upon him, and when the fitting time comes, sends him to France;⁴ here he meets Doon in a tourney, and the father and son discover their relationship.

Social conditions in days when a passing knight easily wooed, won, and deserted a maiden, leaving her to rear their unchristened

¹ Wirnt von Gravenberg, *Wigalois*, ed. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1847, vv. 950-1710, 4793 ff.

² See Nutt, *Folk Lore Record*, IV, 12 ff.; Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, London, 1902, pp. 11, 106; for a collection of examples see *ib.*, Chap. ii.

³ Ed. Paris, *Rom.*, VIII (1879), 61 ff. The lay belongs probably to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. ⁴ See vv. 179 ff.

child,¹ doubtless gave rise to such a story as this,² which is extremely common, and is told far more often of the son of a mortal than of a fairy mother. The picture of the fay as a mother rearing her child does not rest upon a primitive conception of her nature.³ For example, in the early version of the *Tochmárc Emire*, that I have cited above, Cuchulinn passes one night with an other-world princess, Aiffe. "She also said that it was a son she would bear, and that the boy would come to Erin that day seven year. And he left a name for him."⁴ Later versions relate the more fully developed story of this son, that when he came to Erin, he met his unknown father in a conflict and fell by his hand.⁵ Many and many a valorous hero, like Cuchulinn, left a son destined to become a centre of tradition; and the child of such an evanescent fairy union, born sometimes after his mortal father had left the other world and returned to earth, was fittingly made the hero of a narrative telling of the youth's quest for a father whom he did not know. Leaving for the time being this form of the story as Wirnt tells it, we will look at our other source in which Guinglain's fairy guardian appears. This is the account of the boyhood of Gawain's son, given in the first continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*. Although here the youth is nameless, resemblances between the *Perceval* and the cycle of poems that relate the career of Guinglain, Li Biaus Desconeus, indicate that he and the hero of the *Perceval* story are one and the same.⁶ As a preface it should be said that this latter

¹ See Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Leipzig, 1899, I, 627 ff.

² See Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 107 ff., also Chap. iv.

³ In the *Lai del Désiré* (ed. Michel, *Lais Inédits du XII et XIII Siècles*, Paris, 1836, pp. 5 ff.; see especially pp. 34-36), for instance, the story is told of Désiré and his fairy love, which is essentially the same as that of *Graelent* and *Lanval*, yet in *Désiré* an obviously later feature is introduced in that a son and daughter are born to the hero and his fairy mistress. Long after Désiré has left her and returned to court, the fay appears there, accompanied by her son and daughter, whom she presents to the king with the request that he knight the lad and *conseiller* the maiden. The king accordingly bestows knighthood on the son, and marries the daughter. Désiré and his love are married in church, before the fay takes him back with her to her own land, whence he never wishes to return.

⁴ *Rev. Celt.*, XI, 451.

⁵ For a collection of these later versions, see Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 22 ff.

⁶ See *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 192-194: Schofield, *Studies and Notes*, IV, 191, 192.

narrative is confused; the author evidently knows more than one version of the story that he is telling, and reduces as well as combines sources. He gives contradictory accounts of the bringing up of the child, and two versions of the meeting between Gawain and the boy's mother, which, however, although they differ in detail, are alike in the main outline. The parts of the story that concern us here are easily eliminated from the rest.¹

The hero of the narrative is the son of Gawain and Gloriete,² a maiden whom Gawain finds in a beautiful pavilion on the bank of a stream, and with whom he passes but a few hours of dalliance on his way to adventure. She is the sister of the knight Brandelis, who cherishes a feud against Gawain for the wrong that he has done her. Later Gawain inadvertently comes to the castle of Brandelis, a conflict takes place between them, in which just as Gawain is about to slay his opponent, Gloriete springs forward, holding up between their drawn swords her child, who is five years old. A complete reconciliation of the knights is the result, and Gawain remains for some time at the castle of Lis with his *amie* and her son. One day the child is stolen while at play. His two uncles go out to search for him; Gawain, meanwhile, accompanied by Gloriete, rides off to Arthur's court, which he soon leaves in quest of adventure. At this point in his narrative the poet pauses to tantalize us by hinting at what he might have said, if he had chosen to tell all that he knew.

Ne m'orés jà parler, par foi,
Ne de monsieur Brandelis
Qui de son neveu fu maris;
Et, saciés bien en vérités,
Onques par aus ne fu trovés.
Par çou qu'il me covient entendre
A le grant matère porprendre,
Si ne m'orés jà parler chi
.
Ne de la pucièle esgarée,
Qui le détint en sa contrée
Quant ele le vit el cemin,
No voel ore dire la fin,
Ne des soties qu'il disoit
Ne des bontés que il faisoit.³

One day the lad and the *pucièle esgarée*, or *la damoiseille*⁴ as she is usually called, are riding on their way together, when they espy a young

¹ *Perceval*, vv. 11,987-12,393, 16,917-18,232, 19,457-19,632, 20,367-20,752.

² *Perceval*, v. 19,632; variants, *Guiolète*, *Guinalorete*.

³ Vv. 20,380 ff.

⁴ Also *la pucelle envoysie*; see p. 167, note 1.

knight drawing near them. The maiden sends the lad to him, with orders to bid him tell his name and errand, and even to strike him if he does not obey. "*Coment ? fait-il, mostrés-le moi.*" Whereupon the maiden teaches him how to deal a blow, to wield his lance and bear his shield; the boy advances to the knight, and on his refusal to tell his name, stretches him with one blow lifeless on the ground. The lad in perplexity goes back to the maiden who on discovering that his shield has been dented in the fray promises him another that will be far better. A little later the boy has an encounter with another knight, who fells him to the earth. The maiden hastens to him, lifts him up, puts him on his horse, and instructs him further in the proper method of holding his shield; moreover, she gives him a shield wonderfully wrought in ivory and gold, that only he of great valor can win. They ride forward to a beautiful pavilion in a garden, and here they take up their abode. The lad defends the pavilion against all passing knights, and achieves many splendid victories. One day Gawain himself comes in sight, and the youth meets his unknown father in deadly combat. Gawain admiring his young opponent's powers bids him tell his name. But the boy replies that he does not know it; in the court where he was brought up, *la riche sale du lis*, he was called *le neveu son oncle*, for his mother did not dare mention the name of his father in the castle, because of the great wrong that he had done her family. Gawain at once feels sure that the lad is his son, and declares himself the prisoner of the *pucelle au pavillon*. When he is led to the maiden, she bids him tell his name, and thus the relationship between him and the boy is revealed.

Very similar to the *Perceval* story in its elements, although not in its conclusion, is that of Finn mac Cumhaill. The oldest account that we have of his birth is found in the *Fotha Catha Cnucha* (*Cause of the Battle of Cnucha*) contained in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*,¹ and hence written down in the beginning of the twelfth century.

Cumall, son of Tremor, king of Ireland, woos Murni Muncaim (Murni of the Fair Neck), daughter of the druid Tadg, and when her grandfather denies his suit, he carries her away by force. Cond, in whose service he is engaged, bids him restore the maiden, and upon his refusal Cond sends forces against him, who slay him and his men. Murni expects to give birth to a child, and spurned by her father, who wishes her to be burned for her offence, she takes refuge at Cond's suggestion in the house of Cumall's sister. Here a son is born to her, and Demni is the name given him. "The boy is nursed by them, after that, until he was capable of committing plunder on every one who was an enemy to him. He then proclaims battle or single combat against Tadg, or else the full *eric*

¹ See Hennessy, *Rev. Celt.*, II (1873-1875), 86 ff.

of his father to be given to him. Tadg said that he would give him judgment therein." Tadg leaves his stronghold, Almu, and cedes it to Finn.

It is quite plain that this is an incomplete narrative, and that although the narrator is giving a full account of the love of Cumhall and Murni and the birth of their child, he is omitting some part of the story that he had before him. We are told that the boy is called Demni, and the next time that he is mentioned by name in the narrative he is spoken of as Find,¹ yet no statements are made that explain this change of name. The child's mother and aunt are represented as giving him the training that fits him for the great object of his existence, — revenge upon his father's enemies.²

In the so-called *Boyish Exploits of Finn Mac Cumhail*,³ a fragment of the *Psalter of Cashel*, a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian library, an account is given of the early days of Finn, which, although it is not nearly so full as the *Lebor na h-Uidre* version in the part dealing with the hero's birth, is evidently based upon a narrative that contained details lacking in the earlier source.⁴ This version supplies an explanation for the change of the boy's name, as well as a definite account of his rearing, neither of which appears in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*.

Cumhall and Uirgreun are said to have fought the battle of Cnucha as rivals for the chieftainship of the Finns. Cumhall was slain in the strife. After his death his wife Muirenn gave birth to a son whom she named Deimne. "Fiacail the son of Cuchuin, and Bodhmall the Druidess and Liath Luachra came to Muirenn and carried away the son, for his mother durst not keep him with her. Bodhmall and Liath taking the boy with them went to the forests of Sliabh Bladma where the boy was nursed secretly." Enemies were eager to kill the child, and therefore the two women kept him long in retirement. After six years his mother came to visit her son and asked the heroines to take charge of him until he should be of heroic age; accordingly he was afterwards nursed by them till he was of fit age to go hunting. He went out on sundry expeditions, but returned from them to the two heroines. One day he joined some youths who were playing hurly, and won against them all; when they were describing him they called him *finn* (*fair*). On another occasion when they were swimming, they challenged him, and in return he drowned nine of them. Men

¹ See Nutt, *Folk Lore Record*, IV, 27 ff. ² See *Rev. Celt.*, II (1888), 91.

³ Ed. O'Donovan, *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, IV, 288 ff.

⁴ See Nutt, *Folk Lore Record*, IV, 18, 19.

asked who drowned the youths, and the answer was that *Finn (the Fair)* drowned them. Ever after the name clung to the boy.¹

From the confused account of Gawain's son in the *Perceval*,² with its obvious discrepancies, we can establish certain

¹ It is significant that in folk tales still preserved in Ireland Finn is represented as an illegitimate child, brought up by a supernatural woman. According to one version (see Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, London, 1866, *The Fight of Castle Knoc*, p. 216) Cumhall and Conn are at strife, and in a battle between them Cumhall is defeated by the magic of the druid Tadhg, whose hatred he has incurred because he has outraged Muirrean, the daughter of Tadhg. On the eve of the battle, Cumhall summons Boghmin, his female runner, and tells her that when a son is born to Muirrean, she must carry him away to a spot where he shall be safe from the wrath of Tadhg. Boghmin obeys, and with the help of "the sage woman Fiecal" brings the child up in secret in a cave of Slieve Bloom. She calls him Deimne. When he has grown older, he takes part in certain games at Tara. Conn asks the name of this *Paustha Fion* (fine youth). Boghmin replies that Fion shall be his name. A by-stander explains that he is Cumhall's son, whereupon Boghmin seizes the child in her arms, and speeds away from her enemies so fleetly that none can overtake her.

In another version, given by Campbell (*How the Eén was set up*, III, 348), Cumhall is put to death by the jealousy of certain enemies, among them the king of Lochlann, whose sister is Cumhall's mistress, and who commands that if a boy be born to Cumhall and the maiden, he shall be slain. On the night of Finn Mac Chumhall's birth, his nurse flees with him to a desert place, and keeps him there until he has grown into a strong lad. She is disturbed by the fact that he is nameless, and goes to the town to try to find him a name. She sees some boys swimming, and bids the lad swim out into the loch and drown them. The bishop who is looking on asks who the "fair son" (*Fionn*) is who is drowning the boys. "'May he steal his name,' said his nurse, 'Fionn, son of Cumhall, son of Finn, son of every eloquence, son of Art, son of Eirinn's high king, and it is my part to take myself away.'" The instant that he comes to shore, she puts him on her back, and hastens away with him. As their pursuers are about to overtake them, he leaps from his nurse's back, and puts her about his neck holding her by the ankles. He dashes into a wood, and when he comes out has only the two shanks left. He throws them into a loch that he is passing, which is called thereafter Loch nan Lurgan, the Lake of the Shanks. Two great monsters grow from the shanks.

Other versions of the story still survive and have been collected by J. G. Campbell (*The Fians*, London, 1891, pp. 16 ff.): — Finn is the illegitimate child of Cumhall and the daughter of an Ulster smith. Cumhall is slain in battle, and since his enemies, who have heard a report that his son will avenge his death, plan to kill the child on his birth, Cumhall's sister, Los Lurgann (*Speedy Foot*), takes the boy to the Ulster wood as soon as he is born. She has her brother, a joiner, build her a house in one of the trees with such skill that nobody can detect it. Then, to insure secrecy, she kills the joiner, and takes up her abode in the house with the child. When he has grown to be a lad, she teaches him feats in swimming, leaping, running. The rest of the story agrees with the preceding versions. (See also *The Fians*, pp. 24 ff. Cf. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 101 ff.)

² On this story cf. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 48, 50, 194.

parallelisms with the story of Finn. An illegitimate child was born to Gawain and Gloriete, as to Cumhall and Murni of the Fair Neck. In both cases the mother's kindred sought vengeance on the lover. Murni was disowned by her father, who even desired her to be burnt. In the Middle English poem, *The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne*,¹ there is given a version of the meeting and love between Gawain and the sister of Syr Brandles, which varies somewhat in details from that of the *Perceval*. Here we read that Syr Brandles, after having parted from Gawain, beats his sister with many stripes.

Then the lady gate her a-waye,
They sawe her never after that daye,
She went wandrynge to and fro.²

From the story of Murni we may conjecture that the fate of this fair lady was originally similar to hers, and that the version adopted in the *Perceval*, which allows Gawain's love to remain with her kindred and meet her lover again, even dwell with him in the castle of her brother, and finally ride off with him to Arthur's court, is the result of the sophisticating tendency of which we have had examples. The story of Gawain's son, then, in its introduction, is modelled upon essentially the same series of incidents found in that story of Finn which antedates the French romances; and it also contains an account of the lad's supernatural training, which parallels features in the later *Boyish Exploits*.³ It would appear probable, therefore, that the training of the child by the other-world maiden formed a part of an early narrative, to the type of which the stories of both Finn and Gawain's son conform.

The relation of the three accounts of the boyhood of Guinglain — the *Desconus* poems, *Wigalois*, and the *Perceval* — is extremely puzzling. We may presuppose that before the time of Renaud, there was told of Guinglain a story similar to that of Tyolet, in which the lad is brought up in seclusion by his mother, and watched over by a fay whose *ami* he is destined to be. Whether here the boy's mother was a fay or a mortal

¹ Ed. Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, London, 1839, p. 222.

² Vv. 524 ff.

³ The differences in the induction of the *Boyish Exploits* and of the *Enfances* of Gawain's son exclude the supposition that the *Boyish Exploits* was influenced by the latter.

maiden, we do not know. A misunderstanding might easily have represented the hero who was protected by a fay in his childhood, as the son of a fay. On the other hand, we may remember that in studying the fairy lore of the romances scarcely any element has more constantly to be taken into account than rationalization; and an early story of Guinglain, in which he, the child of a mortal and a fay, was said to go forth in search of his unknown father, might easily have been rationalized into a type conforming with that of the Finn story, and known to us through the *Perceval* and the *Jeaste of Syr Gawayne*. It is in any case obvious that although neither the version of the *Perceval* nor that of the *Bel Inconnu* is based upon the other as its source, *la pucele as blanches mains* and *la pucière esgarée* are substantially one and the same person, who represents the supernatural guardianship that watched over the life of the hero. The *pucière esgarée* takes the child to her land, trains him herself to deeds of arms, just as Scathach instructs Cuchulinn, and keeps him with her defending her abode, as Scathach keeps Cuchulinn. Thus she fits him for a special adventure, the fight with Gawain, by means of which he learns the story of his birth. Unlike the fay of the Ile d'Or, however, she has no motive for her conduct, and the element of love does not enter into the account at all. The *Perceval* tells us nothing further of *la pucière*: she disappears from its pages when her mission is ended, that is, when the young hero whom she has fitted for his task in knighthood knows whose son he is. In this version, however, it should be observed, the machinery belongs to an old and common type, the fight between father and son ending in their recognition,¹ and from its very nature gives a more coherent story than does that adventure in the *Bel Inconnu* which leads to the knight's knowledge of his true name. But, as we have seen, in the narrative of a hero, who was born as the son of Gawain was born, living without a name, called like Finn, the Fair One, like heroes of the French romances, Beau Fils, Bel Inconnu, Beau Valet, Beaudous, the interest of the story centres upon his meeting with his father,²

¹ See on this subject, e.g., Köhler, in *Marie de France*, pp. xcvi ff.; Nutt, *Folk Lore Record*, IV, 29-31.

² See Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 107 ff., Chap. IV.

or learning his descent, and a fay, already introduced as his mistress, instead of fitting him only for the tests that shall prove his right to her love, gives him the training by which he shall learn his true history, or by which, as in the case of Finn, he shall regain what is his right by birth.

With these examples of the *rôle* of the guardian fay in romance before us, we may turn perhaps with greater interest to the versions of the up-bringing of Lancelot by the Dame du Lac. The earliest source in which the Dame du Lac is mentioned by name is the French prose *Lancelot*. But in the Middle High German romance *Lanzelet*,¹ by Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, the same personage apparently is designated as a *merfeine* or *merminne*: here, accordingly, we find the most primitive extant representation of the Dame du Lac.

In Ulrich's poem² King Pant of Genewis, whose territories are besieged by his enemies, is reduced to hopeless straits, and is compelled to leave the town, taking with him his wife and his son but one year old. Before they reach a place of refuge, the king dies from a mortal wound. While the queen seeks the shelter of a tree near at hand, a fay from the sea approaches, surrounded by a magical vapor (*eine merfeine . . . mit eime dunst als ein wint*)³; she lifts the child up in her arms and bears him away to her own land.

ez hât ein vrouwe genomen,
ein wîsiu merminne,
diu was ein küniginne
baz dan alle die nu sint.⁴

She rules over Meideland, a country where ten thousand maidens dwell, and where flowers and trees are in perpetual bloom. Her beautiful castle is built on a crystal mountain; the sea surrounds the land, which is protected by an insurmountable wall; within neither jealousy nor anger is known, the maidens who dwell there are always blithe and merry, he who abides in the land a single day is happy so long as life lasts. Here the boy is carefully brought up by the lady, and trained in gentle bearing. When he is fifteen years old, he begs her to let him go where he may see tourneys and jousts, and entreats her to tell him who he is, for he has lived in complete ignorance of his name and history. This latter request she assures him that she cannot grant, until he has overcome the redoubtable knight, Iweret von dem Schoenen Walde. The boy is filled with a desire to go out into the world and meet Iweret. The lady equips him with a beautiful horse and fitting accoutrements, sails with him across the sea, and gives him many parting instructions as to his conduct, before he mounts his

¹ See p. 8, note, for the date.

² Vv. 149 ff., 3540 ff., 4674 ff.

³ Vv. 179-181.

⁴ Vv. 192 ff.

horse and spurs away from her to adventure. In the fulness of time he makes his way to the *Schâtel le mort*, the dwelling of Mabuz, the son of the *merfeine*, who, since it was predicted to her before his birth that he would always be a coward, has enchanted the castle so that every one who enters without the host's permission must lose his valor. Iweret is a formidable neighbor, who can easily despoil Mabuz of his possessions, and therefore the lady of the sea has destined her fosterling to slay him and free Mabuz. As the youth fares on his way after the battle in which he has defeated Iweret, he is met by a maiden, who comes from the queen of Meideland. Her mistress has sent her to tell him that his name is Lanzelet, and to acquaint him with the story of his origin.

In Ulrich's version, removed though it is in some respects from primitive conditions, we have a more consistently constructed, and certainly an earlier story than that given in our other source for Lancelot's youth, the French prose *Lancelot*:¹ —

King Ban of Benoïc is besieged in Trebes by Claudas de la Deserte. By permission of Claudas he sets out from Trebes to seek aid from Arthur, taking with him his wife and his young son Lancelot, but on the way he dies. His wife, leaving Lancelot lying on the grass, hastens to the dying king, and when presently she returns, to her amazement she sees a maiden on the borders of the lake, caressing the child. To the queen's entreaties that she give her back her son, the maiden does not reply a word, but springs into the lake with the boy in her arms and disappears beneath the waves.

The Dame du Lac bears Lancelot off to her own dwelling, a gay abode filled with knights and ladies. It is in a forest; for the lake into which she plunged is only an illusion, which veils from the eyes of mortals the beautiful dwellings and winding streams that adorn the woods. Here she gives the child into the care of one of her maidens, and when he is fifteen years of age he is placed under the tutelage of a master, who teaches him to hunt, to ride, to play chess and draughts. He grows into great beauty and strength, and is called Beau trové, Riche orphelin, but by the Dame du Lac always Fils du Roi, although she carefully keeps his origin secret from him. When he is eighteen years old, she realizes that she should send him from her side to win knighthood. He returns from the chase one day to find her in tears. She bids him leave her, and convinced that he has offended her, he is mounting his horse, when she seizes his bridle, and forces him to admit that he was about to ride to Arthur's court, where he might obtain knighthood. The lady at once tests his earnestness by telling him of the hard duties of knighthood, and proceeds to deliver him a long discourse on chivalry, explaining the qualities that a knight should have, the arms that he should bear, their symbolic meaning, and the knight's obligations. Lancelot's desire for knighthood remains unabated, and the lady consents to set

¹ Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 15, 19, 26 ff., 37 ff., 89, 93 ff., 111 ff., 122 ff. Cf. *Prophecies*, pp. xxvi, xlv, xlv; below, pp. 239, 240; *Lancelot du Lak*, vv. 214 ff.

out with him to court. Attended by a brilliant retinue the Dame du Lac comes before the king, and begs as a boon from him that he knight the youth, but stipulates that she be allowed to give him his arms. She bestows many parting injunctions upon her fosterling, and bids him say, if asked his name, that the lady who brought him up kept him in ignorance of it. She slips on his finger a ring that has power to break all enchantments, foretells his achievement of marvellous adventures, and committing him to God, leaves him.

Briefly, then, Lancelot is a king's son, deprived of his inheritance and separated from his parents by the fortunes of war, brought up in seclusion and in ignorance of his name and position by a supernatural power, whom he leaves to learn his descent and finally to regain his ancestral possessions. Thus he comes among the heroes whose history follows the so-called Aryan Expulsion-and-Return Formula.¹ The persistent part of Lancelot's story in romance, however, is that which deals with his relations to the supernatural lady who guards his career. We have already had to do with sufficient early fairy lore to make it needless to point out here the many indications that the French prose *Lancelot*² is affected by later influences than the Middle High German poem. There is, however, one important element in the German source that has no place in the French romance. The queen of Meideland cherishes Lancelot with a special design, — she wishes her son to be unspelled; for this achievement she trains her fosterling, and only upon the doing of this deed shall he win the longed-for knowledge of his own name, obviously not a primitive rendering, since the true fay who is supreme over enchantment does not require a knight for such a service as this. In the prose *Lancelot* the Dame du Lac has no personal object in caring for the boy, no ends of her own to gain, and no

¹ Cf. Nutt, *Folk Lore Record*, IV, formula facing p. 42.

² Such, for example, is the difference in the descriptions of the fay's dwelling; in the *Lancelot*, where it is said to be in a forest veiled by a magic lake, the narrator evidently does not understand the Celtic Underwaves Land, and carefully explains that the lake into which the lady plunges is only an illusion (cf. *Huth Merlin*, II, 150); while Ulrich represents Meideland as an other-world abode, which, since its queen is a *merminne*, was in his source doubtless placed beneath the waves. Such also are the details of the Dame du Lac's manifestations of sorrow at the thought of her fosterling's departure, and her discourse on the manifold obligations of knighthood.

designated quest for which to prepare him. After he has performed in part a subsequent adventure, the dispelling of the enchantment at the Douloureuse Garde,¹ in which he is assisted by the agency of the Dame du Lac, he learns his name; but his acquisition of the knowledge is not attributed to her power.² As in the case of Gawain's son the story demands that the hero prove his valor in some way, before his father's name shall be revealed to him; but the special adventure performed by Lancelot is irrelevant in that it has no obvious point in being the means by which he shall learn his origin. In short the story of the Dame du Lac has reached us at about the same stage of development as that of the *pucière esgarée*. Each fay steals the child from his mother, and keeps him with her in her own land, giving him the training which will enable him to attain the coveted knowledge of his origin. Even as there is no hint of love between the *pucière* and Gawain's son, so Lancelot occupies to the Dame du Lac purely the relation of a fosterling. But for Renaud de Beaujeu we should be wholly ignorant of the love between Guinglain and his fairy protectress, and the mere fact that a relentless fate has not preserved to us a

¹ See Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 154 ff. Lancelot, no long time after his knighting by Arthur, arrives before the impregnable castle known as La Douloureuse Garde, where mortals are kept imprisoned under enchantment. As he is trying to enter the first gate of the castle, a veiled maiden comes to him who dissuades him from the adventure, and when she finds that he will not listen to her, appears to leave him. At the end of a day of hard combat, Lancelot again finds the veiled maiden beside him; she bids him rest for the night, and takes him to a chamber where she unarms him. Here she reveals herself as a messenger from the Dame du Lac, shows him three magic shields which the Dame du Lac has sent him, and assures him of the aid of her mistress in completing the adventure. During the bloody conflicts of the succeeding day, at every crisis when his strength is failing him, the maiden of the Dame du Lac appears beside him, slips one of the magic shields around his neck, and in spite of his remonstrances that thus she is detracting from the glory of his victory, insists upon replacing his helmet when it is broken with one that is better, and giving him a brighter sword than his own. Thus he wins the day and enters the Douloureuse Garde in triumph. When he has been welcomed by the inhabitants of the castle, he is conducted by them to a cemetery, in the middle of which he sees a great metal slab, bearing an inscription saying that only he who has performed the adventure of the castle can lift the metal slab, and that within he will find his name. Lancelot lifts it, and reads beneath it his own name, *Ci reposera Lancelot du Lac, le fils au roi Ban de Benoit*. The maiden is at his side, and promises to reveal the name to no one.

² See *ib.*, 166.

correspondingly early story for Lancelot does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that a more primitive type of fairy-guardian theme was never attached to his name. There are only two indications, however, that such may have been the case, and that originally the Dame du Lac may have been Lancelot's *amie*. In *Diu Crône*, when the fidelity glove is brought to court, Lancelot fails in the test, and Kai is ready to declare with a taunt that thus it is revealed

daz ir die gotinne,
verkurt an ir minne,
diu iu zôch in dem sê.¹

Our information is too scanty to base conclusions upon such a reference as this. Again, the main adventure related of Tyolet is told of Lancelot in a somewhat later form in the Dutch *Lanzelet*.² The quest of the white stag is proposed at Arthur's court by a messenger from a distant princess: Lancelot is the successful knight, but declines the love of the fay for whom he has performed the adventure, because of his love for Guinevere. If we suppose that an early story akin to *Tyolet* was told of Lancelot, and that in it the Dame du Lac fitted the young knight for the adventure of the white stag, and was ready to reward him with her love, we can readily understand by a comparison with the Guinglain story that when Lancelot was brought into the number of those heroes who went out in quest of an unknown father, the element of love might be obscured, and the fairy training have for its object solely his ability to gain his desired end. In any case, almost inevitably the story of a fairy love would die out of the Lancelot material, after it became thoroughly permeated with his devotion to the queen, which we have repeatedly seen has the power to change the conclusions of episodes from their original form.

A story parallel to the *Lancelot* and suggestive as to the relations of the hero to the fay is that of Floriant, contained in the thirteenth-century romance, *Floriant et Florete*.³

¹ Vv. 24,517-24,520.

² Vv. 22,271-23,126. See Jessie L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, London, 1901, Chap. iii.

³ Vv. 30-579, 734-932, 2412-2694, 5215-6282, 8177-8270.

Elyadus, king of Sicily, is treacherously killed by his steward, Maragoz, who at once lays claim to the queen's hand. She flees to the castle of a faithful retainer, and on the way gives birth to a son. While she and her attendants sleep, Morgain, with two other fays, returning at midnight from pastime on the sea, finds the child. Morgain predicts that he will be a valiant knight, and decides to bear him away to her home on Mongibel. They take the infant to a sanctuary and have him christened Floriant. In Morgain's dwelling he grows into a fair lad, and is taught by a master all that a nobleman's son should know. When he reaches the age of fifteen years he comes to Morgain and begs her to tell him who his father is. Morgain recognizes this question as a sign that she cannot keep him longer with her. She tells him that his father is a king and his mother a king's daughter, and on the next day she knights him and by a magic ship sends him with a rich equipment to the court of her brother Arthur. On his way thither Floriant stops at many points to achieve marvellous adventures, and arrives at court in time to win renown by brilliant victories in a tourney. After he has delivered his message from Morgain to Arthur, a maiden comes to him bearing a letter from Morgain, which reveals to him the story of his birth and tells him that his mother is besieged by Maragoz in the castle of her retainer. Aided by Arthur, Floriant sets forth to rescue her. Adventures and successes crowd upon him, and he not only raises the siege and frees his mother, but is made king of Palermo and *en passant* falls in love with Florete, the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople, and marries her. He lives prosperously in Palermo until one day in a hunt he pursues a white stag which leads him far away to a beautiful castle, through the door of which it dashes. Floriant follows, the stag disappears from view, and Floriant sees Morgain sitting on a couch. She tells him that he must die if she lets him remain longer on earth; therefore she has sent the white stag for him, and he never shall leave her. To make him happy she sends three fays to bring Florete also to dwell in Mongibel forevermore.

Step by step the story of Floriant agrees with that of Lancelot. In the circumstances of their birth, of their discovery by the fay, of their remaining in her land, of their knighting by Arthur, and of their final restoration to their ancestral thrones, the two heroes are alike. The differences are too great for us to regard *Floriant* as a mere redaction of the Lancelot story, and it may rather be accepted as another working-over of a narrative of the same type, and as evidence of the way in which an original tale containing the return of the hero to the fairy mistress who has guarded him from infancy, is adapted to the additional themes related of the same hero. The romance plainly gives us an instance where a common

story has made its way into the Morgain saga, and Morgain, as I have said above, is here only a type.¹

It is unwise to dogmatize in regard to the exact stage of development at which an account of boyish exploits in fairyland was attached to Lancelot's name. His name itself, Lancelot du Lac, which appears as early as Ulrich's poem, is evidence of the importance in the Lancelot legend of his training by the Dame du Lac, which made it appropriate that the title of the protecting lady should be extended to the young knight who

¹ A similar story is that of Maugis and the fay Oriande, told in the epic of *Maugis d'Aigremont*, which belongs probably in the end of the thirteenth century (see Nyrop-Gorra, *Storia dell' Epopea francese*, Turin, 1888, p. 177; cf. *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 704), and in which we should therefore expect to find romantic as well as epic material. The poem is accessible only through summaries. See *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 700 ff.; Keightley, *Tales and Popular Fictions*, London, 1834, pp. 343 ff.

Tristan de Nanteuil (summarized *Hist. Litt.*, XXVI, 234 ff.; Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 143, a), one of the early fourteenth-century epics, contains further indications of the popularity of the *enfances féeriques*: — Tristan de Nanteuil, the infant son of Gui de Nanteuil and Eglantine, owing to various casualties attendant upon a storm that he and his parents experience at sea, is left alone in the boat which floats out over the waters. A siren follows it and rescues the child; a fisherman brings both the siren and Tristan to shore, and takes the siren captive. Tristan once more is left alone. He is found by a doe, who cares for him and brings him up in the woods. When he is sixteen years old he leaves the woods and wanders forth on adventure.

The same theme has a place in the ballad of the *Birth of St. George* (Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, ed. Wheatley, London, 1877, III, 218 ff.), which is considered as in the main modern (see *ib.* 217; cf. Nutt, *Folk Lore Record*, IV, 32). The wife of Lord Albert of Coventry has a dream, the interpretation of which Lord Albert seeks with the weird lady of the woods, who tells him that his wife shall die at the birth of a son, who will be as dreadful to his foes as a dragon. Lord Albert returns to his castle to find his lady dead, and to learn the sad fate that has befallen the new-born child: — in the past night thunder had rolled, lightning flashed, the castle had shaken, and the child was gone. Lord Albert in sorrow wandered far and wide.

At length, all wearied, down in death
He laid his reverend head.
Meantime amid the lonely wilds
His little son was bred.

There the weird lady of the woods
Had borne him far away,
And traird him up in feates of arms,
And every martial play.

Cf. also, for a late version of the theme, the thirteenth-century German romance, *Wigamûr* (ed. Hagen and Büsching, *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1808, I, pp. 1 ff. of the poem; cf. pp. 41-44). Here Lespia, *ain wildes weyb* (v. 112), steals Wigamûr from his parents, and carries him to her home in the sea.

was brought up in fairyland.¹ Throughout the career of Lancelot the Dame du Lac occupies the position of his protectress. Lancelot more than once when in peril has recourse to her ring for aid.² Twice she heals his madness;³ she sends a fidelity mantle to court that brings honor to Iblis, his love;⁴ she comforts the queen in her hours of separation from him;⁵ by a messenger she even saves him from self-destruction in a moment of despair.⁶ Thus she is the guardian spirit of the hero's life, guiding him at every point, protecting him in danger, present at every time of need.⁷

In reconstructing a primitive type of fairy story it should

¹ A similar case is that of Galien, who was named after Galienne, the fay who tended him at birth (see p. 194, note). Aiol, also, the son of Count Elie, who had been exiled by the king of France, was born and brought up in the forest of Bordeaux, and is said to have been named Aiol from the *grant aiant*, who with other savage creatures surrounded him at his birth (see *Aiol*, ed. Normand and Raynaud, Paris, 1877, vv. 64-68, 451, 452; p. v, note 1; *Aiol et Mirabel*, ed. Foerster, Heilbronn, 1876-1882, p. 424, note 63).

² See above, pp. 82, 86, 97; *Conte de la Charette*, vv. 2342-2350; *Huth Merlin*, I, liv; II, 57; cf. Jessie L. Weston, *The Romance of Morien*, London, 1901, p. 128 and note.

³ See pp. 97, 196.

⁴ See p. 119.

⁵ See p. 196, note 3.

⁶ Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 178-181; cf. III, 173, 189; Löseth, p. 432 (cf. § 291, a); *Malory*, Bk. XIX, ch. 11.

⁷ A few episodes (see Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 56-68, 83-94, 281; IV, 136 ff.; V, 202) represent the Dame du Lac as giving her care and protection to Lancelot's cousins, Lionel and Bohor, the sons of Bohor de Gannes. These stories are doubtless concocted simply for the purpose of extending the length of an already long romance. They have no important bearing on the nature of the Dame du Lac.

The Dame du Lac learns that the sons of Bohor, the brother of Ban, are deprived of their inheritance and kept in confinement by Claudas de la Deserte. She determines to rescue them, and sends one of her maidens, Sarayde by name, to the court of Claudas with full instructions as to how the rescue shall be achieved. Sarayde, leading two hounds, enters the hall where Claudas sits at meat, and induces him to summon the lads to his presence. When they stand before the king she covers them with chaplets of flowers, and passes about their necks chains of gold and precious stones, the magic power of which instantly drives them to a frenzy, and in the general *mêlée* that follows she shifts their shapes and those of the hounds, and leaving the supposed youths to the mercy of Claudas, makes her escape with the real youths in hound shape. She conducts them to the dwelling of the Dame du Lac, where they are brought up under her tender care with the young Lancelot. She resolves to keep them under her protection even after they leave her domain (Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 56-68, 83-94). Later (*ib.*, 281) we read that she sends Lionel to Galehaut for training in knightly accomplishments, and still later (*ib.*, IV, 136 ff.; V, 202) we find an account of the protection afforded Bohor in combat by Sarayde, who comes as a messenger from the Dame du Lac.

be remembered that the fay is never a disinterested actor. Her influence on the hero's life is for the gratification of her own love for him. With this principle in mind, although the sources discussed in this chapter present many unsolved problems, they serve to establish at least a few facts in regard to the fairy guardian of romance. It is consistent with our knowledge of the Celtic fay to believe that originally when she exercises protection over a child, it is because she has destined him for her loved one when he shall have attained heroic years,¹ and

¹ Although the part of the fay as the instructress of the young hero whom she has guarded in his infancy rests upon a true Celtic foundation, her *rôle* offers a point of contact with that of the Parcae and the Norns, who preside over the birth of a child and weave his destiny for him; this may perhaps account for the frequent occurrence in romance of stories in which fays play directly the part played by the Parcae in other sources. The resemblance between the Parcae and Norns on the one hand, and the fays of French romance on the other has been frequently noted. See e.g., Grimm, *D. M.*, I, 332 ff.; Maury, pp. 26, 29, 66 ff. Cf. especially for the influence of the conception of the Parcae on that of the Norns, Bugge-Schofield, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1898, pp. 79 ff., 97 ff., 105, 106. Cf. also *Guillaume au Court Nes*, in Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Légendes*, Paris, 1836, p. 257; *Perceval*, vv. 34,143-34,165; *Lazamon, Brut*, vv. 34,143 ff.; *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 3499-3534, 3551-3562; *Auberon*, vv. 402-450; Stengel, *Ausgaben u. Abhandl.*, LXXXIII (1889), 38; *Ysaye le Triste*, an unpublished romance, summarized by Zeidler, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXV (1901), 175 ff., 472 ff., 641 ff.; Grimm, *D. M.*, I, 341; Maury, p. 31; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, pp. 350, 351. In the romance of *Amadas et Ydoine* (ed. Hippeau, Paris, 1863, vv. 1979 ff., 2043-2304), in fact, fays are clearly identified with the Parcae. The fair Ydoine, who has been parted from her lover Amadas, in great distress on the eve of her compulsory marriage to the Count of Nevers consults three sorceresses as to what means she shall adopt to remain faithful to her true lover. They assume the *beles figures de fées* and as Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos cast a spell upon the Count so that he does not know whether he is asleep or awake. They proceed to prepare a repast by his bedside, and as they sit and dine, in order to deter him from the wedding they talk over together the unhappy destiny that they have given Ydoine at birth. A few late French sources show more distinctly the union in the fay of the Parcae who give the child his destiny at birth, and the Celtic fairy mistress who destines for her own love the young knight whom she rears. For an illustration see *Brun de la Montaigne*, p. xi, note 2:—In the night that Ogier was born, when his mother died, six fays came to the bed where he was lying and with caresses each gave him qualities worthy of a hero's desire; Morgain was the last of the number to speak, and she decreed that Ogier should never meet death by the hand of man, and that he should see all her joys in faerie where he should dwell as her lord and her beloved (cf. also the *Enfances Garin de Montglane*, in which Morgain appears with two other fays at the birth of Garin and gives him gifts. See Gautier, *Ép. Fr.*, IV, 111).

In *Brun de la Montaigne* (vv. 430-1357, 1859-2021, 2744-2874), an obviously late representation of the fay as the protectress of children is given. Butor de la

that she therefore prepares him especially for an adventure that will lead him to her. As a development from her original characteristic, when the circumstances of the hero's life emphasized by narrative demand an alteration of her part, she trains him for any great adventure which she knows awaits him ; thus she loses her character as fairy mistress. An extremely common and early narrative theme, not founded upon the conventions of fairyland, but upon human social conditions, represents the child of a maiden and a hero who has met her when away from his home, and has left her after a brief sojourn, as brought up in retirement by his mother and in ignorance of his father, of whom he later goes in quest. This story is naturally made the history of a youth who is the offspring of a mortal and his fairy love, whom he had met in her distant land and had left to return to earth. Thus the mother who brings up the child in seclusion is a fay. Probably the two types of narrative, that in which the fay is the lad's protecting fairy mistress, and that

Montaigne exposes his newborn son in the forest of Bersillant, that he may receive a destiny from the fays. Three fays come singing to the fountain beside which the child is lying, and two in turn endow him with gifts, the third with misfortune in love. One of the others at once promises him comfort in his misfortunes. Very soon the same fay comes to the castle of Butor and offers herself as a nurse for Brun. For many years she takes care of him, coming and going unseen by mortal eye between the castle and Bersillant. When Brun is fifteen years old she tells him that he will soon become a lover, that she must leave him for ten years, during which time he will be engrossed with his first love ; when, however, this love, which will be unhappy, shall be over, she will come to him and he shall love the most beautiful maiden in the world. The story is incomplete, but in the light of the other stories that we have examined it is fair to suppose that the fay herself sought Brun's love.

The romance of *Galien li Restorés* (st. xv-xxx) furnishes a particularly good example for comparison with the stories of Finn and Guinglain. It is evidently modelled upon the same type as they, but the part of the fay who tends the hero has become attenuated into the part of the fay who simply gives a destiny to the child. Galien is the illegitimate child of Jacqueline, the daughter of the emperor Hugo, and Olivier. After Olivier leaves Jacqueline to return to France, her father drives her from his home before the birth of her child, and she takes refuge with a kindly cottager. Back of the cottager's house by a fountain her child is born. The fays, Galienne and Esglantine, come to guard the mother and to bless the child. Both give it good gifts, and Galienne declares that it shall be called by her name. Galien is brought up at the castle of his great-uncle ; when he is old enough he goes to his grandfather's court, where his beauty and prowess win him applause, and his grandfather gladly learns that the lad is his own grandson. When Galien hears from his mother that his father is Olivier, he sets forth in quest of him.

in which she is his mother, influenced each other, and produced confusion in narrative, even as the stories of the Perceval type in which a hero is brought up by a mortal mother in the forest, and those in which he is the fosterling of a fay know no sacred line of demarcation. Narratives such as those of Perceval, Fergus, Alisander l'Orphelin, Sir Gowther, and many others all show the immense popularity of the so-called *enfances humaines*, and the prosaic influences by which they became modified. We have seen, too, the great popularity of the *enfances féeriques*, and again, as in the youth of Tyolet, Guinglain, and Finn, we have found the two types blended. Despite the interlacing of the themes we may be reasonably sure that the fairy guardian and fairy mother are both derived from the original Celtic fairy mistress.

III

MORGAIN AND THE DAME DU LAC

In the *Prophecies*¹ a comparison between Morgain and the Dame du Lac is instituted by Merlin, who having felt the attractions of both fays might presumably speak with authority. The Dame du Lac, he says, possesses greater natural gifts and a more subtle art than any woman in the world. Morgain is the child of passion and fire; the fair Dame du Lac was born near to Paradise. Morgain seeks to work evil, the Dame du Lac good. Morgain to kill knights, the Dame du Lac to help them. Morgain is the enemy of orphans; the Dame du Lac has nurtured Lancelot and his two orphan cousins. This contrast between his two loves observed by Merlin is manifested throughout the romances, where in their relations to Lancelot, Guinevere and Arthur, Morgain and the Dame du Lac are frequently represented as opposing forces.

In the case of Lancelot the situation is to be expected. Morgain's hostility to him, we have seen, was a secondary development in tradition, the outcome of her hatred of Guinevere, and after she once had taken her place in romance as the fay who constantly sought to harm him, the Dame du Lac,

¹ P. lxxi.

Lancelot's guardian, naturally was represented as ready to foil her designs. Owing to a promise that Morgain has extracted from him, Lancelot loses his reason, and in his madness wanders through the land. The Dame du Lac seeks him far and wide, and when at last she finds him in the forest of Tintagel, she takes him to her dwelling, and cares for him until his reason is restored, then equips him with a horse and armor, and sends him to Camelot, with the prediction that he shall rescue the queen from the land whence none has ever returned.¹ In the *Prophecies* the Dame du Lac is said to dread Morgain's evil designs against her fosterlings, and is in fact warned against Morgain by a certain widow of the forest.

The difference between the attitude of the two fays toward Guinevere is also to be explained from the early stories connected with each. We have followed the process by which the wrath of Morgain towards the queen became an established element in the Morgain saga. In the *Lanzelet*, in which Lancelot is not represented as the queen's lover, the Dame du Lac accords her favor to Iblis, his wife.² Even so in the later versions, where the element of a fairy-mistress love does not appear, her affection for Guinevere, the lady beloved by Lancelot, is a necessary consequence of her devotion to him. Hence the Dame du Lac and Morgain are ever working at cross purposes in their contact with Guinevere, Morgain constantly endeavoring to thwart her love, the Dame du Lac to encourage it.³

¹ See *Lancelot*, II, lxxvii; Paris, *R. T. R.*, V, 3-5. In consideration of the parallel that we have already seen exists between Camille and Morgain (see pp. 97 ff.), it should be noticed that after Lancelot is released by Camille from imprisonment, he wanders about in a state of madness, until he makes his way to the quarters of the king. The queen takes him under her care, and discovers that she can calm his frenzy by hanging about his neck the shield given her by the Dame du Lac (see below, note 3); when it is removed, his madness returns. One day a fair lady, silken clad, attended by knights and maidens, arrives in the hall. She is taken by the queen to Lancelot's chamber; she calms him by greeting him as *Beau trouvé*, and tells him that she has come from afar to heal him. She anoints him with a soporific salve, directs the queen to prepare a bath for him, from which he will emerge completely restored, and commands him always to wear her shield. Then she hastens away to her own *ami*. See Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 65 ff.; cf. below, p. 201. Cf. also the healing of Yvain by Morgain's ointment, below, pp. 267, note 2, 272.

² See p. 119.

³ For instances of the friendly relations between the Dame du Lac and Guinevere, see *Lancelot*, II, cxxiv, cxli; Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 78; Löseth, p. 198; *Tavola Ritonda*, ch. cv-cvii. Both Morgain and the Dame du Lac are said to

The relations of Morgain and the Dame du Lac to Guinevere and Lancelot rest upon a fundamental part of the tradition of each fay. This is not the case in the attitude of the Dame du Lac to Arthur. There is a curious inconsistency in the traditions in which they are brought together, for although she is in reality always opposed to him when she is aiding and abetting the love of Lancelot for the queen, she appears frequently as a power who prevents Morgain's hostile designs against the king. She rescues him, as we know, from Morgain's machinations in the fight with Accalon, in the story of the enchantress, which is probably in its origin a Morgain episode, and also in the scene with the messenger of the *damoisele de l'île faée*,¹ in which she tells Arthur that she came to the land simply to protect him, and asks no further reward than that he cherish knighthood as he has ever cherished it.² When Morgain flings the scabbard of Excalibur into the lake to prevent Arthur from regaining it, she tells her damsels that she can work no harm to the king, so surrounded is he by the enchantment of a maiden who has come to the land to protect him.³ "The damoysele of the lake," says Malory, "... euer she dyd grete goodenes vnto kynge Arthur | and to alle his knytes thurgh her sorcery and enchauntementes."⁴ Morgain, on the contrary, as we know, hates her brother and the knights of the Round Table. "Kynge Arthur and she have ben at debate and stryfe ... | And euer as she myght she made werre on kynge Arthur | And alle daungerous knyghtes she withholdeth with her for to destroye alle these knyghtes that Kynge Arthur loueth."⁵

A plausible reason for the situation is that the Dame du Lac attained prominence as a guardian fay in the Lancelot story, and has become so far a type of fairy protectress that her care is made to include Arthur also; and that just as Morgain is

make use of a symbolic shield, Morgain with evil purpose against Lancelot and Guinevere, the Dame du Lac for their benefit; see Löseth, §§ 190, 191; *Malory*, Bk. IX, ch. 41-44; Bk. X, ch. 1; *Lancelot*, II, lii; Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 343; IV, 58; cf. *Tavola Ritonda*, ch. xxviii, xxix; *Tristano*, ch. liii.

¹ See pp. 14, 15, 19-21, 121, 122.

² See p. 15.

³ *Huth Merlin*, II, 252, 253.

⁴ Bk. XVIII, ch. 8; cf. Bk. XXI, ch. 6.

⁵ *Malory*, Bk. X, ch. 17. For late instances of Morgain's hostility to Lancelot, Tristan, and other knights of Arthur, see *ib.*, Bk. IX, ch. 25 ff.; Bk. X, ch. 17 ff., 23. Löseth, §§ 107, 238-240, 293 a, 115, 116, 624. For her love for Breus, the enemy of good knights, see Löseth, §§ 118, 291 a, 292 a, 611; *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XVI, 126.

regularly associated with malign influences, so the Dame du Lac came to be regarded as her foil in incident as well as in nature. A possible explanation, too, is afforded by the story of Excalibur, the famous sword supplied to Arthur according to the *Huth Merlin*¹ and Malory² from the depths of a lake, and coveted by Morgain, who makes every effort to win it from him :—

Arthur feels the need of a trusty sword. Merlin leads him to a lake that is the abode of fays, and tells him that beneath its waters lies a sword destined for him. Even as they speak, Arthur sees in the middle of the lake an arm clothed in white samite, lifting up a sword in its hand. A maiden rides up to them at that moment, and tells Arthur that he shall have the sword if he will promise her a boon which she will ask when she wishes. Arthur gladly makes the promise, and she speeds over the water with dry feet, takes the sword from the hand, which immediately disappears, and gives it to the king. [In *Malory*, the damsel is seen by Arthur "going upon the lake"; she bids him row out to the hand and take the sword and scabbard.] The sword pleases Arthur as he gazes at it, but Merlin tells him that the scabbard is worth more than the sword, for while he has the scabbard on him he shall lose no drop of blood.

We have nowhere any direct evidence that Arthur's sword came from the Dame du Lac herself. Excalibur is always an other-world gift, whether Arthur draws it from an anvil of iron set in a stone, or whether he takes it from the land beneath the waves. His final casting of it into the lake before his death, however, is a persistent tradition, that is thoroughly in keeping with the story of its origin in the land under waves. For example, Cuchulinn's marvellous other-world horses, Liath Macha (*the Gray of Macha*) and Dubhsaighlenn (*Black Sain-glenn*), rise before him from the waters of a lake, and after a brief struggle are mastered by his powerful hand. At Cuchulinn's death the Black dashes from the battle-field back to the lake from which he came, and plunges into its depths, making the surface seethe and boil; the Gray, wounded earlier in the fight, bids his master farewell, and returns to the waters from which he had risen.³ The tradition that ascribes a lake

¹ I, 195-200 (cf. 219); 265 ff.

² Bk. I, ch. 25; II, ch. 3, 11.

³ *Ép. Celt.*, I, 109, 343, 345; cf. above, p. 161. After Morgain has flung the scabbard into the lake, it is of no further use to any man except to Gawain. The beautiful fay Marsique gave it to him when he was about to do battle for her against the enchanter Naborn; but when the battle was over, Gawain had the scabbard no longer and he knew not what became of it. *Huth Merlin*, II, 222.

origin to Excalibur, even though it appears only in late sources, then, may very well have been told early enough for the damsel of the lake who gave Arthur the sword to become identified, by the time of the prose romances, with the Dame du Lac, the most famous of the fays in romantic material whose home was said to be beneath the waves.¹ If the Dame

¹ The Dame du Lac herself presents Lancelot with a fairy sword before he meets Iweret in contest.

diu vrowe gab im ouch ein swert,
daz hete guldfniu māl
und sneit wol fisen unde stāl,
swenn ez mit nide wart geslagen.

(*Lanzelet*, vv. 366 ff.)

Cf. Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 146. Cf. also the sword which renders the hero invincible given to Florimont by the fay of the Ile Celée; Paris, *MSS. franc.*, III, 26.

We read of other marvellous swords in Celtic material that came from the fairy realm under the sea. Manannan, the son of Ocean, according to the *Oided mac n Uisnig* or *The Death of the Sons of Usnech*, a tale of the tenth century, fashioned a wonderful sword, the stroke of which never failed and which could cut off the heads of three heroes with one blow (see *Ép. Celt.*, I, 217). Arthur's sword belongs to the same class of weapon as the Sword of Light, which is a common object in modern Celtic tales. Excalibur is distinguished for extraordinary brilliancy: — "The picture of two snakes was on the sword in gold. And when the sword was drawn out of its sheath, it looked as if two flames of fire broke out of the jaws of the snakes" (see *Mabinogion*, II, 405; cf. Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, London, 1876, p. 184; *English Merlin*, pp. 118, 339, 476; *Malory*, III, 36; cf. also the magic sword of Socht which shone at night like a candle, Stokes and Windisch, III, i, 199, 218; the magic sword on Solomon's ship, Hucher, *Le Saint Graal*, II, 446-452; Lonelich, *Seynt Graal*, London, 1861-1863, ch. xxviii, v. 202; *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1864, pp. 182 ff.). The Sword of Light in modern Celtic stories is a favorite object of an other-world quest, and in the tale of *Art and Balor Beimenach* it must be sought in Under Wave Land (see Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, Boston, 1894, pp. 325 ff.; cf. below, p. 201, note; Larmenie, *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances*, London, 1893, pp. 10 ff.; Mac Innes and Nutt, p. 123. I owe the above references to Dr. A. C. L. Brown). For magic weapons destined to perform a certain deed see *Ép. Celt.*, I, 338-343; Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 316; *Livre d'Artus*, P., § 104. For a list of wonderful swords see *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, ed. Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1846, I, cii ff.; for famous Scandinavian swords made by supernatural agents, see Poestion, *Das Tyrfingschwert*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. xvi ff., 88, 89; with the Celtic swords that speak cf. especially the description of Sköfnung, *ib.*, p. xvii; see also p. xvi.

A strange sequel to the story of Arthur's finding of Excalibur is given in the *Huth Merlin* (I, 213 ff.) and *Malory* (Bk. II, ch. i, 2; II, 3): — A lady that is called the Lady of the Lake comes to Arthur's court, and demands the head of a certain damsel and also the head of the knight Balin, as the boon that Arthur had promised her when she gave him the sword. Balin smites off her head in the presence of the king, and explains that by her enchantment she has been

du Lac came to be regarded in story as the giver of Arthur's marvellous sword, she might naturally be depicted as bestowing her protecting care upon him, and therefore as standing in opposition to Morgain in her relations to him. Such a situation would make it easy to understand why Morgain specially covets Excalibur, and why when there was attached to Arthur the common folk-lore theme, which we meet, to cite two familiar examples, in Hermes' theft of Apollo's cattle and in Thor's loss of his hammer at the hands of the giant Thrym, the other-world being who stole his most precious possession should be Morgain.¹

the enemy of many good knights. Arthur banishes Balin from the court, buries the Lady of the Lake richly, and makes great dole. This damsel of the Lake is plainly not the Dame du Lac who reared Lancelot. The episode is merely a part of a story the interest of which centres in Balin's successful ungirding of a magic sword from a damsel's girdle; doubtless the feature of the sword has induced the author of the *Huth Merlin*, or his source, to make the particular fay, whose part in the story is to furnish a reason why Balin must leave the court and proceed to other adventures, the fay who was supposed to have given Arthur his wonderful sword. The story affords a hint of the ease with which *the* Lady of the Lake and any lady of the lake might become identified. Cf. Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 162 ff., *passim*, 172: the attendant of the Dame du Lac is called *la demoisele du lac*.

¹ See *Huth Merlin*, I, 199, 267 ff.:—Arthur, before he has lost confidence in Morgain, gives into her keeping the sword and scabbard, explaining to her the magic power of the scabbard, and charging her to guard it well. Tempted, however, by the wish of a lover of hers at court she decides to keep the enchanted scabbard for him and has a duplicate made to give Arthur. By an awkward mistake the scabbards are exchanged; the lover receives the duplicate, and finding it worthless, under the conviction that Morgain has deceived him, he tells the king that he is protected by a magic scabbard, which Morgain has given him bidding him slay the king. Arthur resolves to punish Morgain; whereupon she leaves the court, enjoining Merlin to tell Arthur that the sword and scabbard have been stolen from her, and that she has fled in fear of her brother's wrath. When Arthur hears her message he kills her treacherous lover, and restores the scabbard to her keeping. Morgain next makes use of Excalibur in the fight between Accalon and Arthur. (Cf. the story that Morgain causes Tristan's death by the same lance with which he has killed her lover Huneson, Löseth, pp. 137, 374, 382, 384).

Malory (Bk. II, ch. 11) connects the account of the scabbard directly with the story of Accalon:—

"Soo after for grete trust Arthur betoke the scauberd to Morgane le fay his syster | and she loued another knyght better than her husband kynge Vryens or kynge Arthur. And she wold haue had Arthur her broder slayne | And ther for she lete make another scauberd lyke it by enchauntement and gaf the scauberd Excalibur to her loue | and the knyghtes name was called Accolon that after had nere slayne kyng Arthur."

The two stories contained in the *Huth Merlin* are simply variants of the same theme. At the end of the first story it is necessary that the weapon be restored

IV

CONFUSIONS IN THE TRADITION OF THE DAME DU LAC

There remain to be mentioned a few other stories in which the Dame du Lac is conspicuous. In several sources she is identified with Niniane, the love of Merlin. This is a conception of her part that apparently diverges widely from the original type. It cannot be understood until a study of Niniane herself has been made, and therefore a discussion of it must be reserved for a later chapter.¹

We find the Dame du Lac in two situations that cannot be connected in any way with her rôle in the youthful exploits of Lancelot. In the *Prophecies*² she is represented as the *amie* of Meliadus, whom she reluctantly conducts to the cave in which she has entombed Merlin, where he hears Merlin's condemnation of her and in fact of all women because of her deed. We have seen elsewhere³ that Meliadus was said to be beloved by a fay who lured him to her by a druidic stag; and it is quite possible that after the Dame du Lac became conspicuous in story as an important fay her title was bestowed

to Morgain's keeping, since she is to use it again in the second episode. Here the author simply grafts the sword episode upon the conclusion of the enchantress story. The confusion in the parts played by the sword and scabbard in the two variants is doubtless due to the accepted and persistent tradition of Arthur's final casting of Excalibur into the lake before his death (see the sources mentioned above, p. 36, note 1), which made it necessary that the sword itself should be left at the end of the story in his possession; consequently it is only the scabbard that he can lose at Morgain's hands.

In one of the modern Celtic tales (see Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, Boston, 1894, pp. 254 ff.) recounting a quest for the Sword of Light, the hero Coldfeet is returning from the Lonesome Island, the proud possessor of the Sword of Light, in search of which he has gone thither. He finds welcome for a night in a certain house, but while he sleeps the woman of the house exchanges the Sword of Light for an old, worthless weapon. Coldfeet eventually regains the magic sword. It is evidently such a theme as is represented in this story, which the author of the *Huth Merlin* gives us worked into his long narrative. The other-world weapon that the hero has sought is stolen from him by one whom he has trusted, and a worthless substitute put in its place. A somewhat similar device on the part of Morgain has been already mentioned in the story of her exchange of the queen's ring for her own on the sleeping Lancelot's finger, while he is her prisoner (see p. 98, note 2).

¹ See pp. 221, 222, 234, 239, 240.

² Pp. xxi. xxii; cf. p. ci; Paris, *R. T. R.*, IV, 68.

³ P. 22.

upon the love of Meliadus. There may have been connected with Meliadus a fairy-guardian story of the type that we have been examining in this chapter, which the author of the *Prophecies* knew :—

Meliadus is the illegitimate child of the Queen of Scotland and King Meliadus. His mother to escape discovery has the child put on board a vessel and sent out to sea. When the boat drifts ashore, the mother of the Dame du Lac takes the infant under her care, and brings him up as her own son. Merlin tells Meliadus the story of his birth, and bids him, if he would confirm the truth of it, go to a certain chapel where he will find a stone bearing an inscription that repeats the same tale.¹

The source is too late and too untrustworthy for us to attach much importance to it. The other episode to which I have referred is the story of Pelleas and Ettard, which, so far as I am aware, is known only through Malory,² and which is foreign to the legend of the Dame du Lac and also, as we shall see below, to that of Niniane. It apparently became attached to either or both of these personages in consequence of some confusion, after they had become prominent fays in romance.

We may unhesitatingly classify the Dame du Lac as a true Celtic fay from Tír na n-Og, belonging to the same family of other-world beings as the father of Tydorel,³ as Aalardin del Lac, and the *pucières des puis*. In her function in story she is to be placed beside Scathach, Bodhmall, and Speedy Foot, the *pucière esgarée*, the *pucele as blanches mains*, and the daughter of the king of Logres. But the Dame du Lac differs from all of these fays in one respect. A vague personality at first, merely the lady who nurtured Lancelot and dwelt in the fairy-land beneath the waves, undoubtedly because her fosterling

¹ *Prophecies*, pp. xlv ff.

² Bk. IV, ch. 22, 23 :— Sir Pelleas loves the proud lady, Ettard, who scornfully spurns his love. Gawain undertakes to win Ettard for Pelleas, but in reality gains her love for himself. Pelleas surprises the lovers together, and learns that he has lost his lady and that his friend is faithless. The damsel of the lake, Nimue, when she hears the story of his sufferings, by her enchantment makes the lady Ettard mad with love for Pelleas, while she causes Pelleas to hate Ettard and to love herself. He goes with her where she bids him. "So the lady Ettard died for sorrow, and the damsel of the lake rejoiced Sir Pelleas, and loved together during their life days." On this episode cf. *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 284 ff. ; below, pp. 241, 242.

³ Cf. G. Paris, *Rom.*, VIII (1879), 66.

attained popularity as a hero, she came to be regarded as the type of a divine protectress, and as a preëminently gentle and beneficent being. It is quite plain that she and Lancelot are fundamentally united in story, and that when she is associated in tradition with other personages, as with Guinevere and Arthur, the connection is due to a development from her original relation to Lancelot, and to the fact that she had become prominent, in Malory's words, as "the chief lady of the lake."

CHAPTER XIII

NINIANE AND MERLIN

OUR study of Morgain and the Dame du Lac has shown us that there is attached to each of them a variety of episodes which are either developments from an early story, or contain themes that are perfectly consistent with the early conception of each being. In the material that deals with Niniane, or Vivien as she is more familiarly called, we find on the contrary only one important story, the "tale of Merlin and the lovely fay," made so familiar to us all by Tennyson and Matthew Arnold that we scarcely need pause here to recall its outline. It tells how Merlin met and loved the forest maiden of Brittany, how he taught her all his art as an enchanter, and how by the charms learned from him she bespelled him into an endless sleep. This same story forms the principal episode related of Niniane even in our earliest sources. There her romantic connection with Merlin is the subject of the only prominent incident in her life, and her real activity in the French romances is limited to the scene of Merlin's enchantment. Nevertheless she has become the victim of a confusion in legend, which is at first perplexing to the student of her nature. In minor episodes and occasionally in those that contain the account of Merlin's love, she is, as I have said in the preceding chapter, identified with the Dame du Lac; except in the story of Pelleas and Ettard, however, in all those which are not connected with Merlin's love the fay plays a part that is consistent with the essential nature of the Dame du Lac, though not with the traits of Niniane as we shall find them emphasized in the principal story told of her. It seems probable, therefore, that these episodes represent a stage of tradition when two fays, originally distinct, had become identified, and Niniane's name attached to the Dame du Lac, to whom the stories properly belong. Evidently, then, in studying Niniane, we are seeking to discover the fundamental traits of a fay who has practically no independent existence in

romantic material outside of her relations to Merlin. That the story of Merlin's love for her was highly popular is attested by its appearance in ten sources; these it will be convenient to study here grouped in three classes according to their resemblances.

I

The first class (Class A) is formed by the Merlin romances (exclusive of the *Huth Merlin* and the *Prophecies*), *Le Roi Artus*, and *Livre d'Artus, P.*¹ All follow the same general outline, but the Merlin romances give the complete story of Merlin's meeting with Niniane, his instruction of her in magic arts, and his eventual confinement by her power.

The scene is laid by a fountain in the forest of Briosque, a favorite haunt of Niniane, the beautiful daughter of Dionas, a vavasour of high lineage. Hither one day Merlin, assuming the guise of a fair young squire, takes his way, wins a gentle greeting from the maiden, and explains to her that he is the pupil of a wise master who has given him instruction in the magic art. He himself, he assures her, knows how to build a castle in the air, how to walk on the water without wetting the soles of his feet, how to make a river flow over a dry plain, and how to perform even greater wonders. Niniane, dazzled by such genius, exclaims that if Merlin will show her some of these marvels she will become his love *sauve toute vilenie*, and receives Merlin's ready promise for so rich a reward to teach her all that she wishes to learn.² Forth from the forest he summons by enchantment a merry band of knights and ladies; he spreads before the delighted maiden's eyes a smiling garden; jongleurs sing *caroles* about a magic circle that he draws, young knights tilt and dance gaily off with fair maidens under the spreading trees. At sunset the illusions vanish,³ and Niniane is ready to declare that Merlin can ask nothing too great for her to grant him, after he shall have taught her all of his art that she wishes to know. He at once gives her a lesson in magic, and leaves her, promising to return on the eve of St. John and teach her more. At the appointed time Niniane keeps tryst with him by the fountain, and leads him secretly to her chamber. Fearing the excess of his love, by many blandishments she induces him to

¹ *Vulgate Merlin*, pp. 222-226, 299, 402, 432, 452, 483, 484, 493, 494; *English Merlin*, pp. 307-312, 378, 565, 607, 634, 679-681, 692-694; *Merlin (1528)*, I, cxlv, cxlvi; II, cxxvi, cxxvii; Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 174-181, 334; *Livre d'Artus, P.*, §§ 17, 30, 67, 85, 87, 89 ff., 101, 130, 136.

² *Livre d'Artus, P.*: — Merlin merely tells Niniane that he is skilled in necromancy, and will display his art to her on condition that she grant him her love.

³ These details are omitted in *Livre d'Artus, P.*

show her how to keep a man asleep at her pleasure. She protects herself further against him by inscribing on her flesh magic words that deprive him of the power to draw near her except in accordance with her will; she deludes him by laying an enchanted pillow in his arms, that casts him into a deep sleep.¹

Merlin's visits to Niniane are frequent.² He becomes "the victim of a slowly enfeebling infatuation," and gradually imparts to her more and more of his magic art,³ teaching her all that she asks to know. Then she plans to withstand him forever. She would keep him with her always, and by flattery and beguiling pictures of the beautiful spot that she will fashion where they alone shall dwell in happiness, she induces him to show her how to confine a man *sans tour & sans mur & sans fer par enchantement*.

One day as they sit beneath a white-thorn bush in Broceliande, Niniane lulls Merlin to sleep. With her girdle she makes a magic circle nine times about the sleeper; when he wakes he is in the fairest tower in the world, which only Niniane can destroy. She dwells with him, but goes in and out at her own will. Later Sir Gawain riding through Broceliande hears a voice, but sees only a thick mist before him. The voice is Merlin's addressing him from the walls of air, saying that by her to whom he had taught much he has been enclosed here never to come forth.

The story falls naturally into three divisions, of which the first and third are characteristic of Class A alone:—The exhibition of magic given by Merlin before Niniane to stir her love; Niniane's subsequent acquisition of necromancy; Niniane's imprisonment of Merlin in the castle of air.

It was no unusual occurrence in story for an enchanter to give a voluntary exhibition of his power to arouse admiration or faith on the part of the beholder; and more than one instance affords reason to believe that this feature of the Merlin and Niniane story belongs with the body of floating tales which are found attached now to one magician and now to another.⁴ An excellent illustration of this is offered by the story

¹ In the *Livre d'Artus, P.*, Niniane learns from Merlin how to produce a sleep that shall last at her pleasure, and how to summon him to her when she wishes. She tries to protect herself by casting him into a sleep.

² *Vulgate Merlin*, pp. 299, 402, 452; *English Merlin*, pp. 565, 634; *Livre d'Artus, P.*, §§ 30, 67, 85, 87, 101, 136.

³ At this point the accounts end in *Le Roi Artus* and *Livre d'Artus, P.*

⁴ See p. 125, note 1, for examples of similar illusions produced by magic; cf. Lot, *Rom.*, XXX (1901), 15, note 2; Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la H. Bretagne*, I, 81, 82. For the ability to walk on water without wetting the soles of the feet, see *Tain Bo Cuailgne*, in *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 151:—Cuchulinn boasts that he can plunge into a river, cross it, and not wet even his ankles; *Acallamh na Senórach*, in *Silva Gadelica*, II, 199:—An ógleach who rides through the sea is submerged

of Guinebaut,¹ which Paulin Paris regarded as a simple variant of the story of Niniane and Merlin.² It is clear from our previous examination of the Guinebaut theme that it stands nearer the early Celtic material, from which the Merlin episode could not be a direct development. In this latter there is no question of the *carole* serving as a means to keep mortals in a land without return, for its purpose with that of the other illusions is accomplished when they have excited Niniane's love. It is simply an other-world feature reproduced by magic art, and represents the application of a common theme to two different stories, as well as to two different enchanter.

The second visit of Merlin to Niniane, in which he instructs her in the magic art, is also treated at some length in Class A. The episode consists of a series of Niniane's devices to protect herself against Merlin's passion and to gain the knowledge that she desires, all of which, like the illusions produced by the enchanter, may be said to belong to the stock in trade of a narrator dealing with magic themes.³ It is of

by nine waves, and rises on the tenth with dry chest (cf. Sébillot, *Gargantua*, Paris, 1838, p. 37); *Huth Merlin*, I, 198, 201:—A fay passes over the water to fetch Excalibur to Arthur from the lake (see p. 198), and returns with dry feet, for she has crossed on an invisible bridge; MacDougall, p. 94:—A magic path leads across a lake. For a river made to flow over a dry plain, see *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 226; Meyer and Nutt, I, 77; *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, ed. Koschwitz, Leipzig, 1895, vv. 554–561; cf. vv. 771–794. For a garden created by enchantment, see Gautier de Metz, *L'Image du Monde*, in Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, Florence, 1896, II, 196:—Virgil creates a garden enclosed in air (cf. Alex. Neckham, in Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, p. 106, Anm. 34); *Tristan*, ed. Michel, London, 1835, I, 222; II, 103:—A fool boasts of his hall of glass built in the air; Boccaccio, *Il Decamerone*, Giorn. X, Nov. v:—An enchanter creates a garden in January as fair as if it were in May; cf. Manni, *Istoria del Decamerone*, Florence, 1742, p. 555; Mead, *English Merlin*, p. ccxxvi; Mannhardt, *Germanische Mythen*, Berlin, 1858, p. 467; *Aymeri de Narbonne*, ed. Demaison, Paris, 1887, vv. 3507–3528; cf. I, clii; Paris, *Rom.*, IX (1880), 12. For the necromantic arts learned by fays from enchanter, see above, p. 165, note 1; also *Partonopeus*, vv. 4621 ff.

¹ P. 90.

² See *R. T. R.*, II, 199.

³ As Niniane sits beside Merlin in the garden, she induces him to lay his head in her lap, and then commit to her the coveted secret of an unending slumber (*Vulgate Merlin*, p. 299; cf. p. 484, where Merlin is said to lay his head in Niniane's lap before she lulls him to sleep under the white-thorn). A parallel situation occurs in the ballad of *Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight* (Child, *Ballads*, I, 55; cf. 48):—The Elf Knight stirs the love of the Lady Isabel and entices her to a wood, intending to kill her. She persuades him to lay his head in her lap as they

interest in a study of the relations of the versions, for it offers a direct parallel to the main part of Class B in order of events and in phraseology. It will therefore be treated below¹ in connection with Class B.

The third section of the story belongs to the class dealing with a fay's detention of a mortal in an air-bounded prison, of which we have already seen instances in the examination of the Val sanz Retor. An episode closely allied in type to this part of our theme is that of the Noir Chevalier contained in Gaucher de Dourdan's continuation of the *Perceval*,² and in a slightly different form in the *Didot-Perceval*.³

A young knight, the story runs, once upon a time set forth in quest of adventure. He chanced to enter the land of Avalon, and in the Forest del Blanc Perron he found sitting by a fountain the most beautiful maiden in the world. Quickly he won her love, and readily granted her demand that in return for her favor he should promise to do all her will. They wandered together through the forest until they came to a green meadow, where the maiden wished to remain, and by her assurances that she would always dwell with him, she overcame her lover's objections to so remote an abiding place. Feeling an irresistible drowsiness stealing upon him, the over-persuaded knight threw himself on the grass to sleep. When he awoke, he was with his love in a splendid castle, which the maiden had built while

sit beneath a tree, and thus gains the power to charm him to sleep; while he slumbers, she kills him.

The enchanted pillow, of which Niniane makes use in Merlin's third visit to her, is found also in many other sources. See Herbert, *Dolopathos*, ed. Brunet et Montaiglon, Paris, 1856, vv. 7167-7179, 7200-7208:—A maiden skilled in necromancy places an enchanted feather beneath the pillow of her lover, which deprives him of the power to move and puts him to sleep as soon as his head touches the pillow; *Doon*, ed. Paris, *Rom.*, VIII (1879), 61-64, vv. 51 ff.:—Every suitor of a certain lady when he comes to her castle is led to his chamber, where an inviting couch is prepared for him, on which before morning he dies; *Perceval*, vv. 9630 ff.:—When Gawain lies down in the famous *lit de la merveille* in the magic palace of Ygerne, a maiden slips beneath his head a pillow which immediately lulls him to sleep; Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 327:—A fay who wishes to anoint Agravain with a baneful salve puts under his head, as he lies sleeping, an enchanted pillow, which will prevent his waking while he rests upon it. Cf. *Cligès*, vv. 3197 ff.:—A magic potion is prepared by a sorceress, which is employed by a wife to deceive her husband as Niniane's pillow deceives Merlin, and which causes him to dream dreams in accordance with his desires. Cf. *Lai de l'Ombre*, ed. Michel, *Lais Inédits*, Paris, 1836, pp. 48, 49. For a simpler form of the enchantment, a spell cast by a maiden, which holds her lover immovable, see Campbell, I, 37; MacDougall, p. 164. A further collection of similar devices may be found in Child, *Ballads*, I, 391, 392; III, 506; IV, 459.

¹ See pp. 213 ff.

² Vv. 22,645-22,781, 27,380-27,572.

³ II, 468-471.

he slept, and had made invisible to mortal eyes. At the entrance she had fashioned a tomb that all men could see, on which she had placed an inscription stating that any passing knight, who cried out to the occupant of the tomb that he who put him there did a deed of folly, should be attacked forthwith by the knight of the tomb. The land is so wild that for ten years the knight has remained in his prison waiting for an opponent. His horse is his only solace, for an occasional visit is all that his love vouchsafes him. He is known as the *Noir Chevalier de l'Arcel de la Sepouture en la lande*. Perceval goes to the tomb, and utters the prescribed defiance. The knight comes forth, but upon receiving a wound in the contest he waits for no further blows and flees at once back to the tomb.

Of the Noir Chevalier Philipot says :¹ — “ Sa légende nous fournit tout au long le correspondant que nous cherchions à ‘l’entombement Merlin.’ ” The parallel is in truth very close: — the hero finds the maiden by a clear fountain, he promises to do her will in return for her love, she leads him to a fertile spot in the forest, assures him that he shall pass a life of happiness there with her, casts him into a magic sleep, and while he slumbers rears about him an invisible house, where she keeps him in a melancholy confinement waiting for the adventure that tarries, and supported by visits from her at her own caprice. Although the knight is practically the defender of a “custom,” he passes years in a merely nominal championship of his abode, and is, like Merlin, kept in an inactive confinement.

In the *Didot-Perceval*² there is told the story of another knight whose life resembled that of the Noir Chevalier. Urbain, son of the queen of Naire Espine, met one day in the forest a beautiful maiden who led him to a fair castle, and promised to love him if he would agree to abide with her in the place where she chose to take him. Ever since that time he has dwelt with her in a castle invisible to all eyes except his and hers, situated beside a ford of which he is the defender. Perceval comes to the ford and defeats Urbain. Forthwith a mighty noise heralds the destruction of the magic castle. Urbain's love, when she sees that he is being defeated, transforms herself and her maidens into birds, who swoop down and attack Perceval.

The story of Urbain contains distinct resemblances to the episode of *La Joie de la Cour* in *Erec*.³ Like Urbain, the knight Mabonagrain has defeated many an opponent in the defence of his lady's mist-enclosed garden; he, too, dwells ever with

¹ *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 286.

² I, 459 ff.

³ See above, pp. 83, 84

his *amie*, and is not the recipient of only her occasional favor. The sound of a horn terminates the adventure of *La Joie de la Cour*; a mysterious noise indicates that the fay's castle by the ford is destroyed.¹ When the "custom" of the garden is abolished, according to the Welsh version in *Geraint*, the mist disappears; when Urbain is overcome, the castle vanishes. The fay in *Erec* laments bitterly the defeat of Mabonagrain; in *Perceval* the fays transformed into birds take vengeance upon the victor. In *Mabonagrain*, moreover, there appear united two names which frequently are found side by side,² — *Mabon*, *Eurain* in *Bel Inconnu*; *Mabon*, *Irayn* in *Libcaus Desconus*; *Mabonagrain*, *Evrain* in *Erec*; *Mabounain*, *Urain* in *Perceval*. In the *Didot-Perceval* substantially the same story as that of Mabon is told again of a hero whose name closely resembles *Eurain* (*Irayn*, *Evrain*, *Urain*), and therefore the couple *Mabonagrain*, *Urbain* deserves to be added to the above list, which Philipot has brought together.³

That it is a true fairyland in which Merlin, the Noir Chevalier, and Urbain are imprisoned is evident when we recall the characteristics of the Val sanz Retor and kindred scenes. The beauty of the castle and, in the story of the Noir Chevalier, the unfailing supplies of food promised by the fay, are details that belong to the dwellings of the other world.⁴ In the white-thorn bush in full blossom in Broceliande, beneath which Merlin is lulled to sleep by Niniane, there may perhaps be a reminiscence of the white musical boughs that bring drowsiness, which in Celtic tales are borne to mortals by messengers from the other world. When Bran awoke from the slumber to which he

¹ Cf. *Carduino*, II, 65.

² See F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV (1895), 321, 322; Schofield, *Studies and Notes*, IV, 125, 126.

³ *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 275-277. Another type of Celtic fairy story bears resemblance to the theme discussed here. In the folk-tale, *The Daughter of King Underwaves* (Campbell, III, 421), Diarmaid releases a maiden from spells, and is rewarded with her love. One night while he sleeps she builds on a spot selected by him the fairest castle that he has ever seen, and consents to dwell there with him, provided he does not say to her thrice how he found her. He fails to observe her injunction, and at his third mention of the plight in which she had come to him, the castle disappears. Cf. MacInnes and Nutt, pp. 210 ff.; Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, pp. 21-24, 33, 34.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Meyer and Nutt, I, 30, 164-166, 169.

had been lulled by wonderfully sweet mysterious music, he saw close by him a branch of silver with white blossoms. A strange woman appeared to him: "And she said:—

A branch from the apple-tree from Emain
I bring like those one knows;
Twigs of white silver are on it,
Crystal boughs with blossoms."¹

In the *Echtra Cormaic*,² we read that Cormac's guide to the Land of Promise is an aged knight, who visits him bearing a musical silver branch with golden apples; "very sweet music did that branch make, wounded men and folk enfeebled by sickness would be lulled to sleep by it."³ In pursuit of the aged knight Cormac goes to the Land of Promise. Niniane's complete annihilation of Merlin's power may perhaps be paralleled by the trance, such as Cuchulinn's, that leaves the mortal weak and helpless in the hands of a fay.⁴

At the beginning of our study of fairy mythology, we saw that in the early Celtic type of fairy story, in that of Bran and Connla, for example, the fay loves the hero for his renown or beauty, and lures him to her abode by magic means, a musical bough, it may be, perhaps an enchanted apple. There in complete oblivion, forgetful of time, he stays a willing prisoner,⁵ asked to do no deed of valor and enjoying the continual presence of his mistress. In the stories that we have just been considering the inherent situation is that the fay loves the

¹ Meyer and Nutt, I, pp. 2, 4. ² See above, p. 112. ³ Meyer and Nutt, I, 190.

⁴ Cf. the fairy debility sent upon Oengus by a maiden from the Sid, in *Aislinge Oengusso*, one of the introductory tales to the *Tain Bo Regamna*, *Rev. Celt.*, III (1876-1878), 347 ff.; see also *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, VI, 29 ff., 87; MacDougall, p. 80.

⁵ Cf. Meyer and Nutt, I, 30, § 62:—It seemed to Bran and his companions that they were a year in the Land of Women; "it chanced to be many years." *Guingamor*, vv. 533 ff.:—Guingamor passed three hundred years with his fairy love, which seemed to him only three days. See above, p. 76:—Ogier lived two hundred years in Avaion with Morgain, and they seemed to him but twenty. *Thomas of Erceldoune*, ed. Murray, London, 1875 (E. E. T. S.), p. 17:—Thomas of Erceldoune spent seven years and more with the Elf-queen and thought them only three days. Cf. also *Mabinogion*, III, 126:—Pryderi and his comrades, listening to the songs of Rhiannon's birds, sit for seven years at a repast in Harlech; they abide in a certain magic castle for fourscore years, and know not how long they have been there. Cf. also *Rev. Celt.*, III (1876-1878), 350; Campbell, II, 412; Comparetti, *Novelline Popolari Italiane*, Rome, Turin, Florence, 1875, I, 213; below, p. 215.

hardy knight, who in return for her love promises to do her will; he goes with her to an other-world dwelling that she builds, and then as a result of his promise he is obliged to defend the abode, or in other words to maintain the fay's "custom." An important difference exists between all of these episodes and Class A. In the latter the enchanter loves the fay and seeks her love; she promises to grant it to him on condition that he teach her his magic art. When she has built for him the other-world dwelling, the narrative is ended, and Merlin in his remaining history is represented as a melancholy victim of imprisonment, whose confinement is utterly devoid of activity. These differences in the story are undoubtedly due to the character of the hero, whose power lies in his magic art; complete submission to the will of his mistress involves for him no knightly deed, such as the defence of her domain against an armed opponent, but simply the surrender of his skill to her control. If the fay's beloved is a knight, it is his strength, if a magician, his necromantic art, that must be at her disposal. Hence Merlin's sojourn in the other world is necessarily inactive. In the same way the fay's *rôle* is modified by the situation. She cannot demand a deed of arms, for the hero is no knight; but he is the prince of enchanters, and she therefore insists that he yield up his magic skill to her. Accordingly, she must appear in the story as not thoroughly versed in all enchantment, as a true other-world fay should be, but as gradually making the magician's power her own, and thus sapping his force. As the early fairy story was modified in Arthur's case by his character, so here we have doubtless another instance of a variation on an original theme occasioned by the established nature of the hero.

Clearly, in Class A we are dealing with composite material. Its main part tells the common story of a mortal kept in durance in an other-world dwelling by a supernatural mistress to whom he has promised complete submission; the introduction — the tale of an enchanter who woos by magic means — and the minor episodes contain material which is recognizably popular and wide-spread, and hence readily attached to so important a magician as Merlin was by the time that the prose romances were compiled, and to a fay who used her wiles upon him.

II

The second class (Class B) comprises the *Lancelot* versions.¹

On the borders of Brittany there lives a beautiful maiden, named Niniane, of whom Merlin becomes enamoured. When she learns who her lover is, she promises to grant all his wishes provided he will first impart to her some of his skill in magic. She induces him to teach her how by the power of words to enclose a spot from which none may pass out, and how to keep a man asleep at her pleasure. These secrets she wishes to use against her father, whose anger she fears if he discovers Merlin's visits. According to one version (*Lancelot*) she inscribes on her flesh two magic words that protect her virtue; according to the other (*R. T. R.*) she casts Merlin into a deep sleep with the same purpose. At last she has learned so many arts from him that she is able to seal him asleep² in a cave in the perilous forest of Darnantes. Since that time he has never been seen, nor does any man know the way to the place of his confinement.

In the account of Merlin's meeting with Niniane and his instruction of her, Class B comes into contact with Class A, but diverges from it in the story of Merlin's disappearance from the eyes of men. The *Lancelot* is an earlier composition than those versions comprised in Class A and Class C,³ and internal evidence shows that its rendering of the story is not based upon the material most prominent in them. In the concise treatment of the beginning and the end of the account it looks like a condensation of some more complete narrative. But between the more elaborated part of B and one scene in A there is, as I have said above, a marked similarity. This scene in A appears with an introduction in which Niniane meets her lover by a fountain on the feast of St. John, and leads him to her chamber; later she cajoles him into revealing the fatal secret — a story which in its complete form we do not find elsewhere. In both classes the events in the narrative follow the same general order,⁴ and striking verbal similarities

¹ *Lancelot*, II, xii; Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 25, 26.

² *Elle lo scela tot endormi (Lancelot)*. ³ See Paris, *Huth Merlin*, I, xxxvii, lxiv.

⁴ *Class A*

Class B

1. Niniane sees that Merlin loves her well. (His promise to do her will has appeared earlier in the story.)

2. (See 5.)

1. Such is Merlin's love for Niniane that he promises to do her will.

2. She asks him to teach her how to enclose a place by magic.

also occur,¹ for which the differences in the stories are too great to permit us to account by the supposition that the *Merlin* is borrowing directly from the *Lancelot*, the older romance; they do, however, indicate a borrowing by the *Merlin* from the source of the *Lancelot*. It is noticeable that in the *Merlin* the dangerous promise is the central point of the first scene, and Niniane's request that Merlin show her how to

3. She asks him to teach her how to make a man sleep a magic sleep.

4. He demands her reason; she alleges a desire to keep her father, Dionas, and her mother asleep, while she and Merlin meet. Her own death will be the result of discovery.

5. She asks him to teach her how to enclose a place by magic.

6. One day in the garden by her blandishments she wins the secret from him.

7. She writes three magic words on her flesh that protect her virtue.

¹ Class A

Vulgate Merlin, p. 299.

Et quant ele uit quil lauoit cuelli
en si grant amor si li pria quil li
enseignast a faire dormir .i. homme
sans esueillier tant comme ele uol-
droit. Et merlins . . . li demanda
por coi ele uoloit chou sauoir. por
chou fait ele que . . . iou endor-
miroie mon pere . . . & ma mere
. . . car sacies quil mochiroyent
10 sil saperchusent de riens de nos
asfares. . . & se li aprinst .iii. nons
quele escrist. & toutes les
Cf. B,
vv. 15 ff. fois que il uoldroit a lui
gesir si estoient de si grant
15 force ke ia tant ke ele les eust sor li ni
peust nus homs habiter charnelment.

Et desiluec en auant atornoit
Cf. B,
vv. 13, 14. ele tel merlin que toutes les
fois quil uoloit parler alui,

20 il nauoit pooir de iesir a li . . . Et
il li aprinst toutes les coses
Cf. B,
v. 11. que cuers mortex pooit pen-
ser & ele le mist tout en
escrit.

3. She asks him to teach her how to make a man sleep a magic sleep.

4. He demands her reason; she alleges a desire to keep her father asleep while she and Merlin meet. Her own death will be the result of discovery.

5. (See 2.)

6. She warns him to teach her nothing false; if he does, she will leave him.

7. She writes two magic words on her flesh that protect her virtue.

Class B

Lancelot, II, xii.

"Ge voil, fait ele, que vos . . . m'en-
seigneroiz comment ge porrai faire
dormir à toz jors mais cui ge voudrai,
sanz esveillier." "Por quoi, dist Mer-
lins, volez-vous ce sauoir?" "Por ce
fait ele, que ses [mes] pères savoit . . .
ge m'ocirroie tantost, et issi serai
asséur de lui quant ge l'aurai fait
endormir." . . . Cil li anseigna et l'un
et l'autre, et ele escrist les paroles en
parchemin, car ele savoit assez de letres.
Si anconréoit [en conjurot] si Mellin
totes les hores qu'il venoit à li parler
que maintenant s'andormoit et metoit
sor ses deux aignes deux nons de con-
jurement que jà tant com il il fussient
ne la poist nus . . . à li chessir charnel-
ment.

enclose a place by magic forms the nucleus of the last scene. Each of these details occupies in the *Lancelot* one sentence; in the *Merlin* each forms almost a complete narrative by itself. The authors are quite transparent in their methods. The common source is elaborated in Class A by the introduction, as we have seen, of material current in tales of enchanters and of maidens seeking to thwart the desires of unwelcome suitors; in Class B it is evidently condensed, although its outlines are preserved.

The characteristic feature of Class B lies in the conclusion:—Niniane seals Merlin asleep in a cave of the forest. In the Ossianic saga there are traces of a twofold tradition concerning Oisín's experiences with a fairy mistress. One embodied in a literary form tells of his life with the golden-haired Niamh in the Land of Youth;¹ the other is current to-day among the peasants of Cork, and makes the scene of his sojourn with a fay the so-called cavern of the Grey Sheep near Mitchelstown in Cork. Oisín chanced to go into the cave, and on the other side of the stream that flows through it he met a beautiful damsel with whom he lived, as he fancied, a few days. When he asked her consent to revisit the Fenians, she told him that he had been with her for more than three hundred years, and that he might return to his countrymen provided he did not alight from a horse that she gave him. He disobeyed her, however, and the steed fled away from him, leaving him a decrepit old man. There is no means of telling the age of the tradition; a different and unmistakably late story is told of the Cavern of the Grey Sheep, accounting for its name, and the tale of Oisín may be an old tradition connected with the cave by the peasants of the district, who wished to localize in their own region the experience of a famous hero.²

As with Oisín and Merlin, so with Arthur and with Ogier, the story of the hero's disappearance from earth has assumed more than one form. Though Arthur dwells with Morgain in Avalon, he also sleeps bespelled in an enchanted castle or cave, awaiting with his knights a bugle call or the sound of a bell

¹ See p. 243.

² See *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, IV, 232, note; cf. *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV (1899-1900), 127; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 102.

that shall awake them from a magic slumber.¹ Ogier not only is honored by a sojourn in Avalon with Morgain, but in a vaulted chamber near the castle of Kronberg in Denmark he and his men sit fast asleep around a table, and there he has said that he and his warriors will remain, until there are no more men in Denmark than can stand on a wine-butt. Ogier, too, haunts the forest of Ardennes, but some day he will return to the abodes of men.² Merlin, like Arthur, rests in oblivion in a cave, and waits to be roused only by a destined signal; but in his case the bespelling hand is that of the maiden who has enticed him, and she alone can break the enchantment.

In Class B there is never an indication that Niniane loves Merlin, although in A she listens to him at first willingly and with sincere eagerness. Throughout B a strain of duplicity is perceptible in her character, as in the nature of a sorceress who entices heroes to their own undoing. Again and again in Celtic material we read of the malicious inmate of a cave who from sinister motives attracts a hero to her home.

In the story of the *Enchanted Cave of Keshcorran*³ three sorceresses of the Tuatha dé Danann, to entrap the Fianna, hang hasps of yarn in front of the cave of Keshcorran. The Fianna pass through the hasps, "whereupon a deathly tremor occupied them and presently they lost their strength, so that by those valiant hags they were fast bound indissolubly . . . Their pith and valour likewise was abolished . . . As helplessly pinioned and tightly tethered culprit prisoners the hags transported them into black mysterious holes, into dark perplexing labyrinths." A comrade rescues them.

Iain, the hero of a West Highland tale,⁴ goes with three companions to a cave. One of the companions enters, and is at once struck by a hag with a magic club which makes him a bare crag of stone. Iain's other companions meet the same fate, and all are freed from the spell only when Iain himself sprinkles upon them certain magic drops of water which restore them to life.

Another Celtic story of the same type is the *Tale of Young Manus*.⁵ A beautiful woman stands at the bedside of Young Manus and easily induces him to follow her to a cave; here she strikes him with a magic rod which turns him into a pillar of stone. He is restored to life by the touch from a rod dipped in a certain reviving cordial.⁶

¹ See *Folk Lore Journal*, I, 193 ff.; *Holy Grail*, pp. 123, 196; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 207.

² See Grimm, *D. M.*, 803.

⁴ Campbell, II, 12, 13.

³ *Silva Gadelica*, II, 343 ff.

⁵ MacInnes and Nutt, pp. 369-373.

⁶ Cf. the sorceress described in the *Chase of Sliabh Fuaid*, *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, VI, 3 ff.

There is in the romances an evident association between Niniane and the goddess Diana.¹ In the cave versions of Niniane's retention of Merlin, it is possible for us to see one important effect upon the legend that this connection may have had. The fate of Endymion had left an impression upon the literature of mediaeval Europe. Ausonius² speaks of his slumbers as of a familiar theme, and in writing the *Ephemeris* considered it unnecessary to mention his name in order to recall him to the minds of his readers.

Errat et ipsa, olim qualis per Latmia saxa
Endymioneos solita adfectare sopores,
Cum face et astrigero diademate Luna bicornis.³

Annuam quondam iuveni quietem
Noctis et lucis vicibus manentem
Fabulae fingunt cui Luna somnos
Continuarit.⁴

Nor is it a trifling indication of the diffusion of the myth to find it referred to by Martianus Capella,⁵ whose work had a highly important educational value in the middle ages.⁶

Carmen Latmiadeum
Lucis diva secundae
Sacris praetulit astris
Antrum quippe secuta
Linquens culmina caeli
Pastoralibus ardens
Palmam dedit cicutis.⁷

In the versions of Niniane's imprisonment of Merlin, one class is composed of pure Celtic material, and leaves Merlin confined by Niniane in a castle with walls of mist; in this class Niniane's connection with Diana is more remote than in the others, and Diana is said to be merely her father's godmother, or a kindly goddess who gives her a "destiny" before birth. In the other classes, Niniane's connection with the goddess is more personal; she dwells at the Lac de Dyane, or she is

¹ For a discussion of this subject see Excursus IV.

² A.D. 310-395.

³ Ausonii Opuscula, ed. Peiper, Leipzig, 1886, *Cupido Cruciatur*, vv. 40-42.

⁴ *Ephemeris*, vv. 13-16.

⁵ Fl. ca. 410-427.

⁶ See Ebert, *Allgemeine Gesch. der Lit. des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1889, I, 483.

⁷ *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ix, 919.

herself endowed with the attributes of Diana; in these versions she seals her lover asleep in a cave. If Niniane were already associated with Diana whose beloved slept forever in a cave, what more natural change than the transformation of the fay's air-bounded prison where the Celtic enchanter dwelt in oblivion into the same hiding-place as that of Endymion?

The just prerogative of heroic deed is the power to draw to itself legends of different variety but similar type, and the hero's disappearance from earth is a magnet for story. We cannot assert positively which type of tradition first belonged to the Merlin saga. The enchanted sleeper in a cave has been known since the days of Endymion, and as long ago as the time of Odysseus, Circe employed her power as a sorceress to detain with her the hero whom she loved. But since the castle of mist belongs unmistakably to Celtic fairydom, and since Merlin is a Celtic enchanter and Niniane a Celtic fay, there is a strong probability that the earlier theme to become attached to Merlin's name is the story that we know through Class A. Exactly the opposite is true of Merlin to that which is true of Arthur. In the Arthur tradition as we know it, after his disappearance from this world a love-motive may be said almost never to be present; in Merlin's story this is the prominent feature, and the promise of the hero to do the fay's will in return for her love is a fundamental part of every version. The magic oblivion of a hero in a cave is not necessarily influenced by this motive; but by presupposing that such existing material as is represented in A was already attached to Merlin, and by recognizing the connection between Niniane and Diana, we may more readily explain the cave version as the outcome of the former under the influence of the latter than we may the reverse situation.

III

Of the three sources forming our third class (Class C) — the *Huth Merlin*,¹ *Malory*,² and the *Prophecies*,³ — only the *Huth Merlin* and *Malory* treat of the meeting between Merlin and Niniane. Their account is wholly unlike that of Class A and

¹ II, 139-159, 191-198.

³ Pp. xliv, lxiv-lxviii.

² Bk. III, ch. 5, 6; Bk. IV, ch. 1.

Class B ; the induction to their story shows us Niniane as a *damoisele cacheresse* and will be examined in the next chapter.

1. *Huth Merlin*.

Niniane is dwelling at Arthur's court as a guest, and since she is remarkably beautiful Merlin begins to love her. She refuses to heed his wooing unless he will teach her as much of his magic art as she wishes to know. When she leaves the court to return to her home in Northumberland Merlin acts as her voluntary escort. She hates him more than she hates any living being, but feigns pleasure in his society. On their way they come to the beautiful Lac de Dyane, where Merlin builds for her a princely dwelling, which by enchantment he makes invisible to mortal eyes. Here he abides with the maiden, and through his instruction she learns more about necromancy than any one in the world except Merlin himself. Nor is there anybody on earth whom she hates with so deadly a hatred, and knowing that he desires to wrong her she constantly plans to destroy him. One day Merlin tells the maiden of a plot of Morgain to kill Arthur.¹ At once she is eager to go to Great Britain to save the king, and as Merlin, knowing that death awaits him there, fears to go, she promises with protestations of affection to protect him from all danger, if he will attend her. All the way his love for her and her hatred of him increase, and Niniane resolves upon his death.

In the *forest perilleuse* Merlin takes the maiden to a fair chamber fashioned among the rocks, which had been the refuge of a certain unhappy Anasteu and his love, and where they had been buried in a marble tomb with a marble cover of such weight that only Merlin can raise it. The maiden insists that she wishes to look upon the bodies of the lovers lying within the tomb, and Merlin lifts the cover and lays it on the ground. The maiden next professes to be so charmed with the story of the lovers that she wishes to pass the night beside their tomb. As soon as Merlin lies down upon his couch she casts a magic sleep upon him, in which he loses his memory and all his power. Then she summons her servants and shows them that Merlin is like one dead and that the great enchanter is himself enchanted, bespelled by her because he has followed her for her dishonor. She bids her attendants lift him and fling him into the tomb where the lovers rest, and upon it she lays the cover, and seals it with her magic arts so that none can move it. No eye could see Merlin thereafter until she herself came to the tomb by Tristan's request. Nor did any man hear Merlin's voice except Baudemagus, who came to the tomb four days after Merlin's enchantment, while he was still alive and able to tell Baudemagus that only she who had confined him there could open the tomb. This was the last cry that Merlin uttered in lamentation that he had been given over to death by the craft of a woman, and that a woman's wit had overcome his own.² The maiden departs from the tomb on the day after she has imprisoned Merlin.

¹ See above, pp. 14, 15. ² On the lost *Conte du Brait* cf. Paris, *Huth Merlin*, I, xxx ff.

2. *Malory.*

It felle so that Merlyn felle in a dottage on the damoisel that kyng Pelinore broughte to the Courte | and she was one of the damoysels of the lake that hyzte Nyneue | But Merlyn wold lete haue her no rest but alweyes he wold be with her. | And euer she maade Merlyn good chere tyl she had lerned of hym al maner thyng that she desyred and he was assoted vpon her that he myghte not be from her | Soo on a tyme he told kynge Arthur that he sholde not dure longe but for al his craftes he shold be put in the erthe quyck | . . . And within a wyhle the damoysel of the lake departed | and Merlyn wente with her euermore where some euer she wente | And oftymes merlyn wold haue had her pryuely away by his subtile craftes | thenne she made hym to swere that he shold neuer do none enchauntement vpon her yf he wold haue his wylle | . . . And soo sone after the lady and Merlyn departed | and by the waye Merlyn shewed her many wondres | and cam in to Cornewaille | And alweyes Merlyn lay aboute the lady to haue her maydenhode | and she was euer passynge wery of hym | and fayne wold haue ben delyuerd of hym | for she was aferd of hym by cause he was a deuyls sone | and she coude not beskyfte hym by no meane | . . . And soo on a tyme it happed that Merlyn shewed to her in a roche where as was a greete wonder | and wroughte by enchauntement that wente vnder a grete stone | So by her subtile wyrchyng she maade Merlyn to goo vnder that stone to lete her wete of the merueilles there | but she wroughte so ther for hym that he came neuer oute for alle the crafte he coude doo | And so she departed and left Merlyn.

3. *Prophecies.*

The Dame du Lac summons Merlin to ask him not to reveal that one of Morgain's knights has been captured by one of her knights. He remains with her, and in order to protect herself against him, she casts him into a deep sleep at night. She hates him with a deadly hatred and longs to confine him in a place whence he can never escape. He teaches her all that he knows of necromancy, and vows fidelity to her, but she becomes convinced of his faithlessness, and plans how she may deceive him. In a cave in the forest of Darnantes there is a certain tomb to which Merlin leads her one day, telling her that none but she may find the way thither. Here they dwell together for fifteen months and would have remained longer but for Morgain, who comes to the forest in search of Merlin. The Dame du Lac hears the sound of her hunters' horns and fears her, for she knows that if Merlin is on friendly terms with Morgain and her ally, Claudas de la Deserte, Lancelot and his two cousins, her fosterlings, will surely be put to death. Merlin assures the Dame du Lac that he expects never to leave the cave, and she begs him to allow her to remain with him. He tells her that he shall die before her death and entreats her to be buried in the tomb with him; whereupon she prevails upon him to lie down in it that she may see if there will be room for her also. Instantly she closes the lid upon him,

and fastens it in the fashion that he has himself taught her, so that none may open it. Morgain, she tells him, has reproached her with a boast of his that she has lost her virtue by him; hence the vengeance that she is taking upon him. He has taught her how to cast a man into a deep sleep, and how to fasten a place so that it can never be opened; by these arts she has secured him now. Merlin bids her go to Maistre Antoine, the bishop of Gales, and tell him what she has done, and that her maidenhood is unharmed. In two months his flesh will moulder away, but his spirit will remain for all who come to the tomb. The Dame du Lac stays by the tomb until the two months are ended, then wends her way to Maistre Antoine. She laments her deed and would do all in her power to set Merlin free, but she has so confined him that none but Christ can release him. Merlin in revenge teaches all women how to deceive men.

The versions of the *Huth Merlin* and *Malory* belong together, that of the *Prophecies* forms a class by itself. Malory's account is clearly based on one that was kindred to the *Huth Merlin*;¹ but his description of the confinement of Merlin is so vague and incomprehensible that it looks as if here he or his source were making an attempt at abridgment, in which the influence of some such story as that of the *Prophecies* may be at work. The date of the *Prophecies* is placed at 1272,² that of the *Huth Merlin*, by Gaston Paris, at about 1225 or 1230.³ The former contains an obviously later account than that of the *Huth Merlin*, and is more remote from the fairy theme that we have seen in Class A; but it is evidently influenced by the same material that we find in the *Huth Merlin*. The stay by the Lac de Dyane and the scene by the lovers' tomb in the *forest perilleuse* are represented here by the stay in the cave in Darnantes. Just as Merlin takes *la damoisele cacheresse* to the Lac de Dyane and builds her an invisible house there, so the Dame du Lac, who in the *Prophecies* is completely identified with Niniane,⁴ has a presumably invisible house by the Lac de Dyane, to which she has a mysterious habit of opening the path, so that others beside Merlin may find it.⁵ In the *Huth Merlin*, Morgain indirectly causes the departure of Niniane and Merlin from the Lac de Dyane. In the *Prophecies* Morgain is again the interfering cause that interrupts the sojourn of Merlin with

¹ See Sommer, *Malory*, III, 120-130, 146.

⁴ See p. 187, note 2.

² See Paris, *MSS. franc.*, I, 130; *Vita Merlini*, p. lxv.

⁵ See p. 201.

³ *Huth Merlin*, I, lxix.

the Dame du Lac ; but here her slanders are a direct influence in actuating the Dame du Lac to Merlin's imprisonment.¹ This is a new feature in the saga, throughout which fear and hatred of Merlin are Niniane's impelling motives. The tradition which makes the Dame du Lac in the *Huth Merlin* and elsewhere the opposing principle to Morgain's schemes against Arthur is here carried further, and is probably responsible for this emphasizing of the hostility of Morgain to Niniane. Morgain is a friend to Claudas and to Merlin ; if among them a triple alliance is formed, Lancelot and his cousins will be injured. This shows the influence of those episodes in which Morgain and the Dame du Lac are at odds for Lancelot's sake ;² and the Dame du Lac's dread here is connected with her true rôle as Lancelot's guardian. All of these characteristics that I have mentioned are indicative of a later stage of tradition than is seen in the *Huth Merlin*. Furthermore, two other features point in the same direction ; in the *Prophecies*, it is by sheer craft and not by magic wiles that Niniane inveigles Merlin into the place of his imprisonment, where she confines him by his own art ; neither is it by her power that he can be set free, but by Christ's.

It will be noticed that Class C and Class A have few points of contact ; both come into contact with Class B, the former group in the beginning, the latter in the end. But the simple story of the magic sleep in a cave in B is elaborated in C into a long account of the confinement in a tomb in the cave. When Merlin was once represented as lying wrapped in oblivion in a cave, the feature of the tomb is almost a necessary addition of the rationalizing tendency which so frequently influences the material of the prose romances. The enchanted sleeper is dead to the world. Whether or not this conception affected the strange story of the place where the Noir Chevalier maintained his " custom " we have no means of determining.

In the story of Helimas, father of the fay Melusine, there is a resemblance to the variety of the Merlin story contained in Class C, especially

¹ Cf. p. xlv : — The Dame du Lac has confined Merlin in the tomb *pour le despit de Morgain* ; p. xlv : — The Dame du Lac put Merlin in a place where Morgain could not find him, since he could teach Morgain how to kill Boors and to deceive her.

² See pp. 195 ff.

in the *Huth Merlin*.¹ Helimas, king of Albania, the husband of the fay, Pressine, loses her by his disobedience to an injunction that she has laid upon him. Her three daughters resolve to punish their father. They take him to a cave in a mountain *trestout plain de faerie*, and there imprison him.

En ce haut mont l'enfermerent.
On ne scet quel part qu'ilz alerent
Mais Helimas depuis n'issy,
Là fu-il enfermé ainsy.²

In a beautiful chamber in this cave his wife has a tomb made for him at his death, and also places there an alabaster statue of herself. Then, as *par l'ordre de fairie*, she decrees that none shall enter there who does not derive descent from Avalon.

There are indications that the story of a man who was enticed into a tomb or hiding place and there entrapped or assailed was a favorite subject with narrators, and might readily have become attached to Merlin, when the episode was once in vogue that depicted him as enticed by magic into a tomb where he was confined.³ One illustration of such stories is contained in the *Perceval*: —⁴

Perceval comes upon a cross and a tree and a marble tomb. In the tomb a knight is crying loudly for release, and in response to Perceval's ready proffers of help he directs him how to lift the lid from the tomb. As soon as he emerges, but while Perceval is still holding up the lid, with all his might he pushes his rescuer into the tomb. The lid falls, and the knight springs on Perceval's mule, only to find, however, that having been enchanted it refuses to stir for any rider except Perceval. Angry and devoid of ingenuity, the unfortunate knight lifts the lid of the tomb, summons Perceval forth, and settles down in his old quarters again without another word.⁵

¹ Couldrette, *Mellusine, Le Livre de Lusignan*, ed. Michel, Niort, 1854, vv. 4722-4934.

² Vv. 4749-4752.

³ Cf. *L'Atre Perillous* (Herrig, *Archiv f. das Studium der neueren Sprache*, XLII, 148 ff.), vv. 1190 ff.

⁴ Vv. 29,680 ff.; 34,255-34,338.

⁵ Cf. Löseth, p. 460: — A maiden arouses the pity of Brehus, wins his aid, and then leads him to fall into a cave, from which he cannot escape. See also Rusticiano da Pisa, *Girone il Cortese*, ed. Tassi, Florence, 1855, pp. 377 ff. In the *Decameron* (Giorn. II, Nov. v) Boccaccio tells of a young man who accompanies two thieves to a cathedral to rob the archbishop's grave. He descends into the grave and brings out the booty; the thieves send him back to search for a ring, drop the stone on the grave while he is within, and escape with their spoils. Cf. Campbell, I, 132 ff., 147 ff. In the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, by the craft of the fay Rhiannon an unwelcome lover is entrapped into an enchanted sack, and kept there until he is reduced to submission (*Mabinogion*, III, 56 ff.). Caradoc, Lancelot, and Troy Muir are each represented as induced to open a

IV

The study of these numerous sources shows us that there are two distinct accounts of Merlin's meeting with Niniane:— one the story of the maiden of the fountain in the forest of Brittany, the other that of *la damoisele cacheresse*. There are also two accounts of Merlin's confinement by the maiden:— one the story of the air-bounded castle, the other that of the cave or the tomb in the cave. The story of the meeting with the maiden of the fountain is concluded by that of the castle of mist; that of *la damoisele cacheresse* by the version of the tomb in the cave. One set of versions (Class B) contains features common to both accounts, and adds the imprisonment in the cave to a story resembling that to which the castle of mist forms the conclusion, but not resembling that of *la damoisele cacheresse*. In spite of their apparent dissimilarities, a brief comparison of the essential features of the versions shows that they have numerous resemblances, and that certain elements persist throughout. In all the classes Merlin's love is a forest maiden of Brittany; in all they meet secretly; in all, by the power that Niniane has derived from Merlin, she protects herself against him; in all he shows her how to produce a magic sleep that shall endure at her pleasure, and how to fashion a magic prison; in all she lures him to the spot where she casts him into a magic sleep and imprisons him by the arts that he has taught her. With these persistent elements of the story there is mingled in Class A extraneous material, the employment of which is accounted for by the fact that the hero is an enchanter and not a knight, and by the elaboration of detail incumbent upon the worthy writer of a long romance. In Class C the extraneous material is largely due to the more pronounced influence of a different conception of Niniane's character,¹ which suggests a series of incidents remote from A.

Essentially the story places Merlin among the many heroes of old who fell victims to fairy blandishments, and were closet, tomb, or pit from which a serpent unexpectedly darts forth and attacks the hero. See *Perceval*, vv. 15,191 ff.; Malory, Bk. XI, ch. 1; Child, *Ballads*, V, 126; cf. Carrie A. Harper, *Modern Language Notes*, Nov., 1898; Paris, *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 214-231; *Lays of Graelent*, etc., p. 147, note 1.

¹ For this conception cf. pp. 228-247.

transported by other-world agencies to a land without return. Merlin's experiences when once he is in Niniane's power are just as truly other-world experiences as are those of Bran, Maelduin, and Connla. The story of his disappearance from the world was popular in the highest degree. Its repeated use in the prose romances and the variety in the forms that it assumes are sufficient indication that it was told and retold.¹

¹ See the summary of the unpublished romance *Ysaye le Triste*, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.* XXV (1901), 181, § 11: — The spirit of Merlin is confined beneath a beautiful tree by the command of the Dame du Lac. See also a Breton tale cited by Southey, *King Arthur*, London, 1817, I, xlvi, and in *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 159, note 1: — Merlin was enclosed in a tree by the power of an enchanter greater than himself. De la Rue (*Essais Historiques*, Caen, 1834, I, 71) cites a tradition from Gautier de Metz, *L'Image du Monde*: — "C'est dans cette forêt [Bréchéliant] que périt l'enchanteur Merlin, victime d'un charme que les Fées bretonnes lui avaient appris, et qu'il ne croyait pas possible." See also Bellamy, *La Forêt de Bréchéliant*, Rennes, 1896, I, 196 ff.

For an account of Merlin's retirement at *l'Esplumeor Mellin*, with which Niniane is not connected, see the *Didot-Perceval*, I, 505; cf. Raoul de Houdenc, *Meraugis von Portlesgues*, ed. Friedwagner, Halle, 1897, vv. 1333, 2052, 2634, 2700, 2703, 2713; Sébillot, *Gargantua*, Paris, 1883, p. 114. See further, Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Paris, 1889, II, 277, 278 (cf. Mead, *English Merlin*, p. xcvi, note 3); Skene, *Four Anc. Books*, I, 478; II, 234 (cf. Lot, *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV, 1899–1900, 509 ff.); Sanesi, *La Storia di Merlino*, Bergamo, 1898, p. xxxvii.

An evidence of the popularity of the Merlin and Niniane story is found in the echoes of its characteristic elements that we catch here and there through the romances. In the continuation of the *Perceval* by Gaucher de Dourdan (vv. 34,205 ff.) we read that Merlin by necromancy fashioned in a certain place a cross and a magic pillar. A maiden chanced to come to the spot and thus did foolishly, for when she thought to go away she could not leave Merlin, but had to abide with him as his love. He built for her a fair house, and there he dwelt with her. The story also appears in the *Tavola Ritonda* (I, 223): — Escorducarla, Dama dell' Isola di Vallone (doubtless Avalon; see p. 230, note 3, citations from Gottfried von Strassburg and the *Tavola Ritonda*; *Couronnement de Louis*, ed. Langlois, Paris, 1888, cf. v. 1827 and MS. C., v. 1598), built a marvellous palace, intending to imprison Merlin there, for she loved him. He had no idea of submitting to such treatment, and himself took the lady away to the Isola di Vallone, where he keeps her a prisoner. See also *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, vv. 608–611. This tradition is directly the obverse of that which we have been examining. A parallel situation is found in the case of the enchanter Mabon, the pupil of Merlin, who, in a story distinctly reflecting that of Merlin and Niniane, is said to have been imprisoned by a fair lady in her castle by means of the art that he had himself taught her (Löseth, § 334); and who, according to another source (*Bel Inconnu*, vv. 314 ff.), himself imprisons a mortal maid and keeps her in the form of a serpent in his castle until she shall marry him or be rescued by a hero. There is nothing contrary to the course of tradition, therefore, in the situation by which two types of story are attached to Merlin's name, according to one of which an other-world love exercises supreme power over him, while according to the

Lays and independent narratives existed dealing with Merlin,¹ and inasmuch as his legend was peculiarly fitted to absorb

other he gains control over a damsel and imprisons her. The magic house built by Merlin for the lady, however, looks like a reflection of the more widely diffused story of Niniane. Cf. also the invisible house built by Merlin for Niniane, and, in the *Prophecies*, his magic decorations of the cave whither he assures Niniane that none but she may find the way.

In several minor episodes, besides that of Mabon, the story of Merlin's instruction of Niniane is echoed. The Dame d'Avalon in a trial of magic skill at Avalon with the Queen of Norgalles, Sebile l'enchanteresse, and Morgain carries off the palm from the rest: — "Ouy certes font les aultres. cest art vos apprint Merlin | car il me iura une nuyt quāt il emporta mon pucelage | mais iey feuz deceue | car il me dist il maprēdroit ce qul scauoit" (*Prophecies*, p. xcvi). A certain damsel of Leonnois is wronged by Merlin, who teaches her his arts and enchantments (*Prophecies*, p. lxxv). See also Löseth, p. 466.

The most important reflection of the story is to be seen in the accounts of Merlin's love for Morgain and his instruction of her in the magic art. This cannot properly be regarded as an independent tradition, but is doubtless the result of rationalization, which, as we have seen, frequently explains a fay's power as due to a magician's instruction, and which, when Morgain's supernatural gifts had to be accounted for, would naturally place her under the tutelage of the greatest of enchanters, Merlin. The passages in which Morgain is represented as deriving her art from Merlin fall into two divisions, — those in which she is merely said to win her skill from Merlin who loves her (*Lancelot*, II, lxxi; Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 205; Löseth, § 190; *Renart le Nouvel*, vv. 4807 ff.; *Tavola Ritonda*, I, 296; above, pp. 61, 62, 102), and those in which reminiscences of the Niniane story are more clearly defined. To this latter class belongs the account in the *Livre d'Artus*, P. (§§ 100–102), according to which Morgain proves herself quite as apt a pupil of Merlin as Niniane is, and in fact temporarily rather more engrossing (cf., however, §§ 130, 135, 136). The special magic power taught Morgain by Merlin, according to this source, is a reminder of the arts that he is said in Class A to have imparted to Niniane: — Et auint lonc tens apres ce que Merlins fu perduz. que ele fist faire sales por ester les plus beles du monde en maint leus. et quant eles estoient assouies. et li ourier sen estoient ale. si gitoit son enchantement (p. 14). Still greater is the resemblance to the Merlin and Niniane story in the account in the *Huth Merlin* (I, 263–266) of Morgain's acquisition of necromancy: — Arthur has had erected on the top of a fortress gold and silver images of twelve vanquished kings, in whose hands he has had lighted torches placed, which Merlin announces shall burn till the day of his own death (cf. Gautier de Metz, *L'Image du Monde*, cited by Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, Florence, 1896, II, 196, for a somewhat similar device of Virgil's. Cf. also the firebrand that shall burn as long as Ogier's life lasts, given him by Morgain in Avalon; see above, pp. 77, 79). Morgain, on learning that this marvel is due to Merlin's art, decides that his acquaintance is worth cultivating, and since she wins his love by her beauty, she easily persuades him, in return for her promise to do whatever he asks, to teach her so much necromancy that no woman on earth shall know

¹ See Lambert d'Ardres, *Mon. Germ.*, XXIV, 707; cf. Paris, *Huth Merlin*, I, xlvi.

not only Celtic fairy material, but also themes from folk-tales and bits of religious tradition as well, it is no wonder that the original fairy story is obscured by many accretions in the versions that have happened to come down to us.

more. When she has learned all that she wishes, she dismisses him, seeing that he loves her foolishly. For Merlin's love for Morgain cf. also *Prophecies*, *Berner Stadtbibl. Cod. no. 388*, fo. 77 c, quoted by Freymond, *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XVI (1892), 126; *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, vv. 2446 ff.

CHAPTER XIV

LA DAMOISELE CACHERESSE¹

ONE day while Arthur is sitting at meat a white stag comes dashing through the hall pressed hard by a brachet. After it in hot pursuit there rides a beautiful maiden who has just unleashed thirty couples of hounds. She is clad as a huntress in a short green robe, round her neck hangs an ivory horn, in her hand are bow and arrows. She is riding at full speed, and is making an obnoxious amount of noise. A knight who is present seizes the brachet and rides off with it; the stag and hounds escape. The maiden flings down her bow and arrows, and clamors for immediate reparation from the king for the loss of her little dog and the interruption of her hunt. Merlin, in spite of reminders that the adventure will lead to death, appoints Gawain to bring back to court the stag's head and the hounds unharmed, and Tor to go forth in quest of the brachet. At this moment an armed knight rides up, swings the maiden to his saddle, and spurs off with her. She cries loudly for help, and Merlin deposes Pellinor to go to her rescue.

Gawain's pursuit leads him to a ford defended by a knight [in *Malory*, Allardin of the Isles], whom he overcomes. He follows the stag across the stream through a forest and into a beautiful castle. The dogs rush after it and kill it in the hall. An armed knight makes his appearance forthwith, and indulges in loud lamentation because he has guarded ill his favorite stag that his lady gave into his keeping. Gawain and he engage in combat, and Gawain is about to kill him when the knight's *amie* throws herself between them, and Gawain by accident cuts off her head instead of her lover's. The knight, however, is vanquished and Gawain sends him as a prisoner to the queen. Left alone, he notices that the castle is apparently uninhabited. Presently a thundering blast from a horn breaks the stillness. Four armed champions enter the hall, attack Gawain, wound him, and take him off to a dungeon. When the lady of the castle learns who he is, she releases him provided he will promise to do her bidding, and return to court with the maiden's body bound to his saddle and her head hanging from his neck. She gives him the stag's head to take back to the king as evidence that he has accomplished the adventure. When he arrives at court Merlin in commending him says:— *Et saichiés que ceste aventure poés vous bien tenir a une des aventures de[l] saint graal.*²

¹ The following story is contained in *Huth Merlin*, II, 77-137; *Malory*, Bk. III, ch. 5-15, where the account is given less fully than in *Huth Merlin* and with some unimportant differences.

² *Huth Merlin*, II, 96.

Tor, meanwhile, pursues the brachet. Guided by a dwarf he comes to a meadow where beautiful pavilions are spread. In one of these he discovers a maiden sleeping, with the brachet in her arms. Despite her entreaties and threats, Tor takes the little dog from her and rides on his way. The next day the maiden's lover, the knight who had stolen the brachet, overtakes him and demands the dog. The result is a contest in which Tor is victor.

Pellinor, after some unimportant experiences, finds the maiden and her captor, with whom a cousin of hers is fighting in her defence. When the contestants hear Pellinor's declaration that he intends to lead the maiden back to the king, they make their peace and attack their new opponent, only to be defeated by him. The maiden's cousin begs Pellinor to treat her with consideration : — *Car bien sachiés que ele [est] fille de roi et de roine et estraitte de moult haut lignage. Mais tant li plaist la cacherie des forès et tant s'i delite que elle ne vaut onques avoir ne ami ne baron, ains s'en gabe quant on en parole a li.*¹ On their way back to court the maiden's horse stumbles, and she falls, hurting her arm. They stop to rest, and overhear a plot of two passing knights to poison Arthur, at which the maiden expresses her confidence in the king's safety since Merlin is at court. They pursue their way to Camelot where *la damoisele cacheresse* receives at Arthur's hands her brachet, hounds, and stag's head. She tells the king and queen that her name is Niniane ; and that she is the daughter of a man of high rank in Little Brittany, but she does not say that she is the daughter of a king. Everybody who has heard the story of Robert de Boron knows that this maiden is she who was called *la damoisele du lac*, who brought up Lancelot du lac.

Gaston Paris says of this episode :² — “ On a vu que notre romancier a fait de la ‘demoiselle chasseresse’ de cette aventure la même que Ninienne. Cela n'éclaircit pas l'histoire de cette demoiselle et de sa chasse, histoire qui est d'ailleurs aussi peu intéressante que peu claire.” It is, however, clear at once that we are touching fairyland, and that we have to do with an episode in which we may detect our author subjecting his material to very much the same sort of treatment that he bestowed upon it in his version of the enchanted voyage of Arthur, Urien, and Accalon.³ In our study of fairy life we have by this time learned to suspect the vicinity of faërie when we find before our eyes a white stag and brachet, and a splendid uninhabited castle. That the quest of the white stag and brachet is properly an other-world adventure may be seen by a comparison

¹ *Huth Merlin*, II, 119.

³ See above, pp. 14 ff.

² *Huth Merlin*, I, xlix, note 1.

with other incidents less complex in their structure in which the same theme is prominent, and especially with Perceval's adventure of the Chessboard Castle to which I have had occasion to refer before.¹

The fairy mistress of the Chessboard Castle refuses to grant Perceval her love until he shall bring her the head of the white stag in the forest. To aid him in his pursuit, he may take with him her white brachet, adorned, as a true fairy dog, with a gold collar² and endowed with supercanine intelligence;³ if he does not bring the little dog back with him, he shall never have her love. As Perceval is returning with the stag's head, he is despoiled of his brachet by an ungracious maiden (*pucière de malaire*) who refuses to give the dog back to him until he has fought with a certain

¹ *Perceval*, vv. 22,392 ff., 27,004 ff., 27,715 ff.; see above, pp. 156 ff.; cf. *Tyolet*, 329-444, 538 ff.; *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 113-117.

² See vv. 22,585, 22,607.

³ See vv. 22,591, 22,920 ff. Fairy dogs are sent to this world as messengers or gifts to mortals. They serve as guides in other-world adventures, or as comforters in some special misfortune. They are small, have glossy hair as fine as silk, as a rule are white, white with red or black ears, or iridescent, and wear a gold collar from which hangs a magic bell; they are preternaturally swift, intelligent, amiable, and abstemious. See Meyer and Nutt, I, 81; Stokes and Windisch, III, ii, 467; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 233-237; *Mabinogion*, I, 367 ff.; III, 38; *Tyolet*, vv. 375-400, 430-444, 538-542; Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan u. Isolt*, ed. Massmann, Leipzig, 1843, I, vv. 15,801 ff.; Ulrich von Turheim, *ib.*, vv. 1074, 1234, 1236; Heinrich von Friberg, *Fortsetzung von Gottfried's Tristan*, ed. Von der Hagen, Breslau, 1823, II, vv. 4116, 4453 ff., 4810, 6471; Pleier, *Garel von dem Blühenden Tal*, ed. Walz, Freiburg, 1892, vv. 2464 ff.; *Tavola Ritonda*, I, 241-243; *Lancelot*, II, cxli; *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, IV, 249; *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV (1899-1900), 127, 128; MacDougall, pp. 84 ff.; Campbell, *The Fians*, London, 1891, p. 197; *Bel Inconnu*, vv. 1259 ff.; *Libeaus Desconus*, ed. Kaluza, Leipzig, 1890, vv. 1069 ff.; Wirnt von Gravenberg, *Wigalois*, ed. Pfeiffer, *Dichtungen des deutschen Mittelalters*, VI, Leipzig, 1847, vv. 2207-2212. There can be no question that the dog to which the last three passages refer is a fairy hound, when they are compared with the description of a dog in the *Lay of the Great Fool*, a Celtic source, with which in the episode in question they show a striking agreement (see above, p. 88, note 2, for references on this subject). In the *Lay* (pp. 159 ff.) the dog, a red-eared white hound, is owned by an enchanter, and is given to the wife of Amadan Mor, the daughter of the King of the Golden Isle — an other-world name. The little dog serves as an other-world messenger, for Amadan Mor, the hero, after killing a deer that the dog has driven into his path through an enchanted glen, binds the dog, and thus falls into a dispute with its owner, which ends with a reconciliation and with Amadan Mor's accompanying the enchanter to his other-world dwelling. In *Libeaus Desconus* (vv. 1021 ff.) the little dog in the manifold gay colors of his coat resembles Petit Criu, the brachet from Avalon described by Gottfried von Strassburg in the passage cited above. In *Libeaus Desconus*, also, he is owned by Ser Otes de Lyle, which is possibly a corruption of *Oste(s) de l'isle* (*Hôte de l'Île*), an other-world name. This suggestion I owe to Professor Schofield.

knight. During the fight, Perceval loses both stag's head and brachet, for they are stolen by a passing knight, and the luckless lover thus is once more involved in a long series of adventures. One day he chances upon the ungracious maiden sitting before a beautiful tent beneath a tree on which the stag's head is hanging. Perceval appropriates the head, but is obliged to do battle for it and for the brachet with the maiden's *ami*. We have previously been told that she is King Pescéor's daughter, and that she has been thwarting Perceval in his task, because of his failure to ask the fitting question at the Grail castle.

Here, as in the episode of *la damoisele cacheresse*, the object of the quest is to bring back the head of the stag and the fay's white brachet. Perceval is warned that to perform the adventure completely he must bring back the brachet, just as Gawain is told by Merlin that he must return with the hounds unharmed. Perceval and Tor in the pursuit of the brachet take their property from a maiden found by Perceval sitting outside a tent, by Tor sitting within a tent, and both fight with her *ami* for the little dog. These similarities make it seem probable that such a story as we know through Gaucher was influencing the author of the later prose romance. In the Welsh *Peredur*¹ a somewhat different form is given to the same adventure. The Black Maiden imposes upon the hero the quest of the stag and brachet, success in which shall admit him to his loved one's presence, and she also acts the part of the ungracious maiden in his subsequent adventures. She, too, concocts all the trouble for Peredur that she can in consequence of his failure at the Grail castle. Merlin, in the *Huth Merlin*, makes the somewhat surprising statement to Gawain after his return to court that his adventure is to be regarded as one of those belonging to the Grail, — an apparent irrelevancy increasing the probability that in the author's source this very test of Perceval had an influence.

Though Gawain's adventures, unlike Tor's, diverge widely from Perceval's, they belong distinctly to the other world. Not only is the stream that must be crossed to reach the beautiful castle of the adventure defended, according to Malory, by Allardin of the Isles, whose name strongly resembles that of the other-world knight, Aalardin del Lac,² but beside occupying

¹ *Mabinogion*, I, 365 ff. For the same story told with variations unimportant here, see *Didot-Perceval*, I, 467 ff. ² See p. 168.

the accepted situation of a magic castle, it is apparently uninhabited, a mysterious and terrific blast from a horn is heard within its walls,¹ its mistress, like a fay, helps the hero in his trouble, and exacts from him the promise to do her will. The stag, also, shows its primitive characteristic as a fay's messenger by leading the way into the castle,² although unlike the typical messenger it does not vanish from sight when its mission is accomplished, but serves as the source of a fresh disturbance for Gawain in his contest with its defender appointed by the mistress of the castle.³ The proper function of the knight in our story, however, was probably to maintain a "custom" of the castle against a knight brought thither by the fay's messenger; just as the blaze of an immense fire attracts knights to the enchanted abode of Helaes, where they discover that at the fireside they must encounter an armed champion.⁴ The earlier stories with which I have classed the episode in the *Huth Merlin* always demand that the adventure appointed by the fay shall in some way lead to her love; this is of course made impossible here by the division of the adventure between two knights, and further by the sudden rape of the lady herself.

It has seemed worth while to call attention to the general character of the episode, because by such an analysis the unique part ascribed here to Niniane becomes all the more

¹ For a brief discussion of the significance of the blast from a horn in a magic castle, and for instances of its use, see Philipot, *Rom.*, XXV (1896), 261, note 1; cf. *Holy Grail*, p. 198. For additional examples see *Livre d'Artus*, P., §§ 151, 152; *Perceval*, vv. 19,055, 21,967 ff., 31,744 ff.; MacDougall, p. 73.

² Cf. *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 8176 ff.; *Perceval*, vv. 28,916 ff.; *Partonopeus*, vv. 5638 ff.; *Guingamor*, vv. 312 ff.; *Auberon*, vv. 711 ff.; *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, VI, 77, 79.

³ A parallel to Gawain's pursuit of the deer and his combat with the knight who has it in his keeping is furnished by the West Highland tale, *The Fair Gruagach* (Campbell, II, 424-450), which, according to Campbell, contains very early features. The Fair Chief pursues a deer of marvellous swiftness, which leads him across a ford. The deer gives a spring, and the Fair Chief catches it by one of the hind legs. The deer roars, and "the Carlin" — who has not appeared earlier in the tale — cries: "Who seized the beast of my love?" (Cf. the grievance of the knight in the *Huth Merlin*, II, 87, — *car il li ont . . . occhis dedens son ostel meesmes la beste el monde que il plus amoit.*) She and the Fair Chief have a parley in regard to the possession of the magic deer, but the Chief departs with it. This is the beginning of a series of bouts between them in the same cause, in one of which the Chief slays the Carlin.

⁴ *Livre d'Artus*, P., § 148.

striking. Oddly enough, in Pellinor's adventure, which concerns the damsel who, we are told, is a fay, there are no distinctively fairy features.¹ Her rescue from the champion, her fall on the way home, which is apparently a mere excuse for introducing the episode of the passing horsemen and the maiden's expression of confidence in Merlin's power, are incidents that contain no suggestion of other-world relations, but look like the flimsy concoctions of a prolix narrator. *La damoisele cacheresse* herself, although later she is said to be *sage* and hence adapted to the acquisition of Merlin's art,² is neither all-powerful nor all-knowing, as an other-world fay should be; nor, like the fays of the streams and forests, is she ever on the alert to win a young knight's love, but she treats the thought of a lover as a jest, and lives a virgin life in the woods. She is *la damoisele cacheresse* — a name applied to Niniane only in the romance in which this episode occurs,³ — essentially a huntress, offensively noisy, even more pronounced a type than the Elfland Queen, "a lady that was brisk and bold," whom Thomas the Rhymer saw "come riding o'er the fernie brae."⁴ The description of her appearance suggests much more vividly the figure of a Diana of Versailles than that of a fay, such, for example, as Lanval's gentle mistress, who comes riding with dignity to court, carrying her sparrow-hawk on her wrist and followed by her hound.⁵ In this episode also we should note that the account of the first meeting between Merlin and Niniane is completely at variance with that in the *Vulgate Merlin*, where the enchanter finds the beautiful maiden by a fountain in a forest of Bretagne.⁶

The situation accordingly is that two adventures belonging distinctly to fairyland are here connected with a maiden who is known in romance as a powerful fay, but who appears in this episode as a helpless, impulsive, even stormy, mortal damsel, arrayed in huntress garb. Plainly we are here dealing with material which combines with the fairy nature ascribed to Niniane certain elements foreign to it. Do these non-fairy

¹ With the episode of Niniane's rape cf. *L'Atre Perillous* (Herrig, *Archiv f. das Studium der neueren Sprache*, XLII, 1868, 148 ff.), vv. 130-210.

² *Huth Merlin*, II, 140.

³ See *Huth Merlin*, II, 136, 139, 227, 250; cf. 17.

⁴ Child, *Ballads*, I, 323.

⁵ Marie de France, *Lanval*, vv. 553-582.

⁶ See p. 205.

elements belong to the original conception of Niniane's character, or are they later accretions? If they are later accretions, from what source are they derived?

As the first step in the solution of these problems, it will be well to turn to a series of passages, the significance of which is evident as soon as they are brought together.

1. The fay who takes the young Lancelot under her protection rises from the Lac de Dyane.¹ Niniane, the beloved of Merlin, is the maiden who bore Lancelot away to the lake.²

2. Dionas, a young knight, delights in hunting and takes up his abode in the forest of Briosque. The goddess Diane, his godmother, visits him and on her departure gives him a "destiny" for his first daughter: she shall be so beloved by the wisest man who ever has lived that he shall teach her the greater part of his skill in necromancy, and shall be able to refuse her nothing. This daughter is Niniane.³

3. In the *Merlin* (1528)⁴ we learn in addition to the above story that Dionas was named after Dyane, who received her name at baptism from her mother, *la seraine de Cecille*. When Dionas was still a child, Dyane, being a goddess of the sea, asked the gods of the sea to allow his first child to be a girl full of grace and virtue, and to bestow upon her the same "destiny" as that mentioned in the versions given above.

4. The Dame du Lac, who deceives Merlin, dwells at the Lac de Dyane.⁵

5. Meliadus, a lover of the Dame du Lac, is said to have been reared by her mother at the Lac Dyane.⁶

6. One passage remains to be mentioned here which is more elaborate than the rest and, like the episode of *la damoisele cacheresse*, is found in the *Huth Merlin*.⁷

Niniane some time after her rescue by Pellinor leaves the court for her home in Norhumberlande, attended by Merlin, who has become enamoured of her. They are faring through a small wood of exquisite beauty called En Val, when Niniane espies the Lac de Dyane, which she regards with

¹ *Lancelot*, II, ix, x.

² *Ib.*, II, x, xi.

³ *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 223; *English Merlin*, I, 307-312; Paris, *R. T. R.* (*Le Roi Artus*), II, 174 ff.; *Livre d'Artus*, P., § 17. In this last source Diane is called the Queen of Sezile.

⁴ I, cxlv ff.

⁵ *Prophecies*, pp. vi, xxxix.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. xlvi.

⁷ II, 145-149.

satisfaction, for Dyane, as she says, *ama toute sa vie la deduit del bois autant que je fais ou plus*. Near by is the marble tomb of Faunus, whose story Merlin tells the maiden : — Dyane ruled (*sic*) in the time of Virgille, and loved woodland pleasures. She followed the chase through the forests of France and Bretagne, and at length chose this spot for her abode. Faunus, the son of a king of the land, saw her and loved her. She granted him her love on condition that he never leave her to return to his home, and built a beautiful dwelling on the shore of the lake where they lived together. But the inconstant Dyane soon began to love another knight, Felix, whom she found hunting. He was of lowly origin, and since Dyane realized that if their love were discovered, Faunus would kill him, she resolved that Faunus must die. There was a tomb near at hand filled with water upon which an enchanter, Demophon, had bestowed healing properties. Faunus, one day, coming in wounded from the chase, had recourse to the tomb, from which Dyane had the water instantly drained away, but on his experiencing the pangs of disappointment at finding himself in a dry tomb, Dyane shut the lid and promised to cast medicinal herbs through the apertures. No sooner was he safely covered up in the tomb than she poured boiling lead upon him, and thus put him to death. She reported her deed to Felix, but he, scouting her love, beheaded her. Her body was flung into the lake, which has ever since been called the Lac de Dyane.

Niniane is so charmed with the spot that at her request Merlin builds her an invisible house on the border of the lake, where she may rest between her hunting expeditions, and where they dwell together for some time.

The story is a strange combination of classical names and reminiscences, and of themes from Celtic fairy tradition and mediaeval folklore. As the Faunus of classical mythology was the son of Picus, king of Latium, so Faunus the lover of Dyane is the son of a king; and the name of his rival, Felix, in significance recalls that of Evander (*Εὐανδρος*), who is connected with Faunus in the Lupercalia.

There is in Roman mythology an obscure god, Virbius, a sylvan deity apparently, about whom little is known except that he is connected with the worship of Diana at Aricia¹ and is identified with Hippolytus, the beloved of Artemis, who after he was raised to life in the presence of Æsculapius was hidden in secrecy at Aricia by the goddess.² The name of this favorite of Diana persists in our own time among the peasants of the Romagnuola.³ They say that Verbio was a beautiful youth who loved a maiden and believed that he was loved in return.

¹ See p. 275.

² See Virg., *Aen.*, VII, vv. 774-777.

³ See Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains*, London, 1892, pp. 124 ff.

A stranger with greater charms chanced to come along, and the damsel transferred her interest to him. The unfortunate Verbio accordingly fell ill ; the girl felt the pricks of conscience, and told her new gallant that Verbio's love was greater than his own. She suddenly perceived that he was a devil, and surrendered her soul to him on condition that she be allowed to pass years of happiness with Verbio. The end of the story is, as Leland observes, quite evidently an addition, but the situation at the beginning is the same as that in the early part of the account of Diana's unhappy lover, Faunus. He loves her and believes that he has her favor ; the more attractive youth comes in her way, and she deserts Faunus for him ; her fickleness meets with due punishment. When we consider that the Virbius, Faunus, and Sylvanus of Roman mythology must almost inevitably have been confused one with another by the people of Gaul,¹ and all have been classed together on the new soil in one great family of sylvan deities, it becomes quite conceivable that Faunus might have taken the place of Virbius in the popular story of a hunter carried away from his home and kept in retirement by Diana ; and that in the *Huth Merlin* and the tale of the Romagnuola we have two remnants of what was perhaps originally one story of Diana and her lover, Virbius. The suggestion, however, is perhaps hardly worth consideration, for we have no information as to the age of the Italian story, nor as to the time when it was first associated with Verbio ; and were it not that the name Virbius is intimately connected with Diana, it would scarcely be justifiable to place the incidents side by side. The fickle maiden who disposes of one adorer for the sake of a greater novelty is not such a rarity in mediaeval literature that we need turn to the peasants of the Romagnuola to account for the appearance of the theme in a French romance.

The termination of the Faunus and Dyane episode recalls a theme that we know in the lay of *Equitan* by Marie de France.²

Equitan loves the wife of his seneschal and is loved in return. She determines to bring about the death of her husband that the course of her love for Equitan may be unhindered, and therefore prepares for her lord a

¹ On the persistence of nature worship among the Gauls, see Maury, pp. 4-9.

² Vv. 41-53.

bath of boiling water which will instantly put him to death. But her husband surprises her with Equitan, who, in the hope of saving himself from detection, springs into the scalding bath and meets the fate intended for his seneschal. The guilty wife is drowned by her husband in the same bath.

Here the wife, the husband, and Equitan correspond to Dyane and her two lovers, the old and the new. The wife prepares to bring about her husband's death by a boiling bath in order to enjoy Equitan's love; Dyane destroys her first lover by a bath of boiling lead in order to remove all obstacles to her new lover's passion. The wife dies by the means through which she had hoped to gain her own happiness; Dyane dies because of Felix's indignation at the method that she has followed to secure the gratification of her desire.¹

Demophon as the lover of Phyllis is of course a well known personage in mediaeval literature, but Demophon as an enchanter is obscure. He, however, is by no means the only enchanter who endowed water with healing property. Virgil himself was said to have made baths to cure the sick at "Puchole" near Naples.² In Celtic mythology we find that the Tuatha dé Danann were in the habit of throwing balsamic herbs and plants of healing into the burns and rivers of Conaille-Muirthemne in Cuchulinn's behalf.³ According to Geoffrey,⁴ the giants who built the Giants' Dance made healing baths among the stones by washing them with a compound of herbs, which invariably cured the sick who bathed there.

Gaston Paris remarks on this entire episode, — "L'épisode de la forêt d'En Val n'est qu'une imitation anticipée de cette histoire" ⁵ (i.e., the confinement of Merlin in the tomb by Niniane). This is very probably true of the element of the

¹ This theme is also represented in the German poem, *Die Drei Mönche von Kolmar* (cf. Marie de France, p. lxxxii); see Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1850, III, No. lxii. With the destruction by boiling lead cf. Child, *Ballads*, II, 327, st. 30; 321, note; V, 53, st. 103; 56, st. 59; the ordeals by boiling lead and oil, *Maugis d'Aigremont*, *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 699; *Cligès*, vv. 5996-6004; the punishment by boiling pitch in Malebolge, Dante, *Inferno*, XXI. With the origin of the name Lac de Dyane, cf. that in Geoffrey (*Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. II, ch. v) which accounts for the name of the Severn.

² See Adenet le Roi, *Cléomadés*, ed. Van Hasselt, Brussels, 1865, vv. 1663 ff.

³ See *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 198.

⁴ *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. VIII, ch. xi.

⁵ *Huth Merlin*, I, xlvii.

tomb, which was perhaps suggested to the compiler by the version of Merlin's imprisonment that he adopted. He manifests a grim predilection for tales of lovers and tombs, a combination that he gives us here, in the story of Anasteu and his *amie*, and in that of Merlin and Niniane.¹ But the parallels cited above show that he may not improbably have had before him an independent story of Dyane and her lovers, containing elements familiar to popular story.

We thus have a series of passages associating Niniane with Diana, no one of which in itself would be of any considerable value as evidence of an inherent connection between the fay and the goddess, but which taken together, and in addition to the episode of *la damoisele cacheresse*, are of importance in understanding Niniane's nature. These passages do not deal with one consistent account connecting Niniane and Diana. One version makes Niniane's father, Dionas, a godson and namesake of Dyane, who gives Niniane a "destiny" before her birth; three make her dwell at the Lac de Dyane; one says that her mother dwells there; one recounts a story which attributes to Dyane a treatment of her lover similar to that which, according to the same romance, Niniane bestows upon Merlin; still another, while obscuring the fairy nature of Niniane, represents her as an obstreperous huntress reminding us of Diana, the leader of the Wild Hunt, and also ascribes to her distinctly the qualities of Diana,

" Fair silver-shafted queen for ever chaste,
 . . . [who] set at nought
 The frivolous bolt of Cupid, . . .
 . . . and she was queen o' the woods."

Niniane's virginal purity is, as a rule, insisted upon in the sources, and a dread lest Merlin should sully it is her persistent motive for confining him.²

¹ See *ib.*, II, 192 ff.

² Cf. *Prophecies*, pp. lxx, lxxi; see below, p. 226, note, for the contrast in this respect between Niniane and other maidens to whom Merlin imparts his magic art. There are two further resemblances between Diana and Niniane which deserve merely to be noted:—The mid-day demon is especially in evidence at noon on St. John's Day, as the mid-hour of the mid-day of the year, and it is on the feast of St. John that Merlin meets Niniane beside a fountain, when he returns to her for his second visit (see *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 299; Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 180). Niniane's

In the Diana myth and in fairy tradition there are certain parallel elements,¹ and in fact we have already seen the part of a fay attributed to Diana in the prose romances. In the story and attributes of one special fay, Niniane, there is an echo of the old Diana myth that lingered about the lakes and woods. The path that leads from the clearly defined Diana of antiquity to her fairy counterpart is as elusive and uncertain as the *goldene Brücke* on the waves of a lake, but that popular imagination had in truth constructed it there can be little doubt.

There is one element in the Niniane material that is perhaps a direct outcome of her association with Diana. In those sources where her connection with the goddess is the less emphasized,² she is not identified with the Dame du Lac who fostered Lancelot, except in the *English Merlin*, where at a later point in the narrative and in a different context, mention is made of "Niniane, the lady of the lake that brought Lancelot up tenderly";³ the *English Merlin*, however, is late enough to have suffered contamination in its material. In the versions where the connection with Diana is more emphasized⁴ either the authors take pains to explain that the lady who deceives Merlin was the same who bore Lancelot away to the lake;⁵ or, as in the *Prophecies*, she is called throughout only the Dame du Lac, never Niniane, and is represented as the guardian of Lancelot;⁶ or, as in *Malory*, she is denominated *one of the damoyseles of the lake*,⁷ or *the [chief] lady of the lake*,⁸ and her partiality for Lancelot is implied.⁹ Nowhere except in one

beautiful and clever cousin is Lunete (see *Livre d'Artus*, P., §§ 89 ff.); but to this remote connection with Luna I would attach no importance, especially as the episode in which it occurs is based on a familiar other-world theme—the adventure of the Perilous Fountain,—and is not pure Niniane material.

¹ See Excursus IV.

² II, 401.

³ See pp. 217, 218.

⁴ See p. 234.

⁵ *Lancelot*, II, x, xii, xvi; Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 22; *Huth Merlin*, II, 137. In the *Huth Merlin* after her sojourn in En Val Niniane is never called *Niniane*; once she is called *la damoisele cacheresse*, elsewhere *la damoisele* or *la damoisele du lac*.

⁶ See Löseth, §§ 37, 190. She is the Dame du Lac who confined Merlin in the tomb and who reared Lancelot. Cf. Ulrich von Fûrterer, *Lanzelet*, ed. Peter, Tübingen, 1885, p. 6.

⁷ Bk. IV, ch. 1; Bk. XVIII, ch. 8; Bk. XIX, ch. 11.

⁸ Bk. IX, ch. 16; Bk. XIX, ch. 11; Bk. XXI, ch. 6.

⁹ Bk. IV, ch. 29.

manuscript of the *Lancelot*, cited by Jonckbloet, does the collocation occur, *Niniane who brought up Lancelot*,¹ or the *Dame du Lac whose name was Niniane*. In other words, the persistent relations are that Niniane is Merlin's love, and the Dame du Lac, Lancelot's guardian; the occasional relations that Niniane is the Dame du Lac, Lancelot's guardian, and the Dame du Lac is Merlin's love, Lancelot's guardian.

Two fays, accordingly, one the beguiling mistress, the other the guardian of a child, are represented as one person, but each with the distinction of her class preserved. Their point of contact is the Lac de Dyane. This gives the key to the situation. A fay, the denizen of a lake, the fosterer of children, might readily be associated with Diana, the tutelary deity of a lake, one of whose special attributes was to care for an infant's birth. Thus it might be easy and natural to associate the Dame du Lac with the Lac de Dyane, and in this way with the fay, Niniane, in whom some of the attributes of Diana had already centred.

Why should Niniane be the fay in whom we see a reflection of Diana?² In French literature, so far as I have been able to discover, no trace of Niniane's name exists previous to its connection with Merlin, and it is altogether reserved for his fairy mistress. It has served, moreover, as a means for eliciting sundry conjectures from scholars, none of which have been wholly adequate to account for her personality. In two of the Welsh poems attributed to the bard Myrddin, the *Avallenau*³ and the *Hoianau*,⁴ certain prophetic words are put into the mouth of one designated as *hwimleian*, *huimleian*, *chwimbleian*, *chwibleian*, *chwiwleian*,⁵ a word which is translated *Sibyl* by

¹ II, xii; fo. 152 r^o: — *Nimenne qui Lancelot norri au lac*.

² See *Malory*, Bk. XVIII, ch. 21, for a description of a maiden who belongs to the same type as *la damoisele cacheresse*, but who is not definitely associated with Diana.

³ Published with translation by Skene, *Four Anc. Books*, I, 370 ff.; II, 18 ff.; see st. viii. The poem is contained in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, which is dated by Skene (I, 3) probably in the reign of Henry II (cf. Mead, *English Merlin*, p. cvi); Lot (*Ann. de Bretagne*, XV, 506, 507) dates the poem after 1150.

⁴ Published with translation by Skene, *Four Anc. Books*, I, 482 ff.; II, 21 ff.; see st. vi, vii. Skene regards the poem as spurious and written in imitation of the *Avallenau*; see I, 223; cf. Lot, *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV, 508; De la Borderie, *L'Historien et le Prophète des Bretons*, Paris, 1884, p. 116. ⁵ Skene, II, 336.

Skene, *Nymphe* by San Marte.¹ In an interpolated text of the *Avallenau* contained in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*² there are a few lines describing her, which are available in San Marte's translation :—

Die Nymphe welche erscheint und verschwindet weissagt deutlich
In Bildern von unruhigen Zeiten, die sicherlich kommen werden.³

This personage is regarded by Villemarqué,⁴ by Maury,⁵ who accepts Villemarqué's statements, and by Thomas Price⁶ as the original for the Vivian of the romances.⁷ *Vivlian*, Villemarqué says, is a name changed by the romancers into *Vivian*. Price admits that "it is true there is not much resemblance in the names," but adds that *Chwifleian* by the French writers of romance might be easily modified into *Viviane*. The word *Hwimleian* in its various forms, according to Gaidoz,⁸ means neither sibyl nor nymph, but is a proper name of unknown etymology. Hence Paris⁹ rejects the evidence as wholly insufficient for the identification of *Vivian* with *Chwyblan*; but *Ninienne*, which he considers the original form of the name, is altogether of a Celtic cast, he says, and in confirmation of this statement he cites the name of the Irish saint, *Ninianus*.

Rhys¹⁰ sees an identity between Pelleas, whose experiences Malory recounts,¹¹ and Pwyll, whose story is told in the *Mabinogion*,¹² and on this basis he draws a comparison not only in story, but also in name between Niniane, whom he calls the Lady of the Lake, the love of Pelleas, and Rhiannon, the wife of Pwyll.

"Even the names of the former," he says, "distorted as they are to *Nyneue* in Malory and *Niviene* in the *Huth Merlin*, admit of being traced back by easy steps of misreading and miscopying to that of Rhiannon,

¹ *Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 62-78, st. ix, xix.

² See *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV, 506; cf. Skene, II, 335.

³ St. ix.

⁴ *Contes populaires des anciens Bretons*, Paris, 1842, I, 49.

⁵ P. 2.

⁶ *Literary Remains*, Llandovery and London, 1854, I, 144.

⁷ See also, *Sagen von Merlin*, pp. 85 (cf. 89), 228, 317.

⁸ Quoted by Paris, *Huth Merlin*, I, xlv, note 1.

⁹ *Huth Merlin*, I, xlv, note 1; cf. Lot, *Ann. de Bretagne*, XV, 517, note 2.

¹⁰ *Arthurian Legend*, p. 284.

¹¹ Bk. IV, ch. 20-24; cf. above, p. 202.

¹² See above, pp. 3, 4.

which in the 12th century and later would be written Riannon. Thus Nyneue and Niviene point back to the prototypes *niñen* and *ninien* respectively as any one will see who knows anything about our old manuscripts. But besides the common confusion of *n* and *u*, of *in*, *ni* and *ui*, there was also that of open *a* with *u*, which makes *niñen* the possible result of misreading *niunen* for *nianē* or *nianen*. Further the consonant *ɾ*¹ in the writing usual in Wales till the advent of the Normans, was easily mistaken for an *n*, in case the first limb was carelessly left insufficiently prolonged below the line. This is one of the misreadings evidenced elsewhere in the romancers' reproduction of Welsh names, and assuming it here, we step from *nianen* to *ɾnianen*. Lastly the scribe's predilection for certain forms must always count for something, and other instances, such as *Natien*, or *Nascien*, for Welsh *Nwython*, illustrate the substitution of *ien* (for *on*) making *nianon* into *nianien*; so we pass from *ɾnianien* to *rianon*, which comes sufficiently near *Riannon*, the old Welsh spelling of *Rhiannon*."

Two similarities Rhys finds between the parts played by *Niniane* and *Rhiannon*. Each takes the initiative in her love affair, *Niniane* with *Pelleas*, *Rhiannon* with *Pwyll*; *Rhiannon*, he says, as well as *Niniane*, was a kind of lake-lady, and he cites in confirmation of this an incident in which *Rhiannon* plays a part similar to that of the lake-lady *Liban*,² and also the fact that *Rhiannon* is the owner of magic birds whose warbling is heard clearly on land while they are really singing far out above the sea.

Of these three explanations that of *Villemarqué* is built up on almost the slenderest possible basis of characteristic and a resemblance in name so faint as to be barely perceptible. *Paris* gives us the satisfaction of seeing an existing masculine name, the feminine of which may be the fay's, but leaves us no clearer knowledge as to who the bearer of this name is. In the third case, the theory rests upon a hypothetical tortuous course of written sources, upon a community of incident which is so universal in the histories of fays as to be entirely without significance — for who among them does not take the initiative in securing the hero's love? — and upon a stage of tradition that presupposes the identity of *Niniane* and the *Dame du Lac*, hence, as we have seen, not upon an original phase of *Niniane's* nature.

There is, however, in Celtic tradition the name of a fay, which doubtless ere now would have been recognized as the possible original of *Niniane*, if the resemblance in the stories

¹ = r.

² See above, pp. 9, 10.

connected with the two names had been noticed. The Irish poem known as the *Lay of Oisín in the Land of Youth*,¹ is attributed to Michael Comyn, who lived about 1749, but there is good reason to believe that it embodies early material.²

The poet sings of a misty morning when the Fianna went out to hunt. The golden-haired Niamh, the beautiful daughter of the King of the Land of Youth, comes riding toward them, and easily persuades Oisín to obey her summons to the Land of Youth. She bears him away across the sea on her milk white steed to a land that is as fair as Paradise; here he forgets time and home, and unwittingly passes three hundred years of happiness with Niamh. Then the inevitable desire of the mortal hero to return to earth seizes him. Niamh reluctantly lets him go, but charges him not to alight from his horse on pain of becoming a decrepit old man. He disobeys the command and suffers the penalty.

In the *Acallamh na Senórach*³ a tale is told of Niamh, daughter of the king of Munster, who eloped with Oisín and took up her abode with him by a certain well, known as the "well of women." "The damsel with her thirty women used to come every morning, and in this blue-surfaced water they would wash their faces and their hands." Here she was found bathing by the King of Munster and his hosts, who came in pursuit of the truant Oisín. In shame and grief Niamh laid her head upon the ground and with her companions died. Henceforth the hill has been called the hill of slaughter.

Although the *Acallamh na Senórach* is by no means an early source⁴ this story furnishes no inconsiderable evidence of the comparatively early date of the material in the *Lay of Oisín*. It is evidently a rationalized version of the same theme attached, as the legends of the *Acallamh na Senórach* in general are, to a certain locality in explanation of a topographical name. The "elopement" is merely a less happy term for the summons of a fairy mistress, the "well of women" is a commonplace name for *Emain, the Land of Women, the Land of Everliving Women, Meideland, Chastel as Pucières*; Oisín's escape from the world and his retired life with Niamh beside the well is doubtless simply the happy experience of a hero who has been enticed away from men by a fay to dwell with her in her own abode.⁵

¹ O'Looney, *Trans. Oss. Society*, Dublin, 1859, IV, 229 ff.

² See Meyer and Nutt, I, 151.

³ *Silva Gadelica*, II, 178.

⁴ The *Acallamh na Senórach* is contained in the *Book of Lismore*, a fifteenth-century manuscript.

⁵ For other instances of the name *Niamh* see *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 237 ff.; *Rev. Celt.*; III, 175; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 126 ff., 259.

To turn now for a moment to an earlier mythological figure. We have seen that there is reason to believe that three Irish war-goddesses, Ana, Macha and Morrigan, are developed by legend into fays. Another of the ancient Irish goddesses of battle, apparently by no means so prominent a divinity nor so distinct a personality as the Morrigan, is Neman,¹ wife of Neit, the god of battle; "venomous were the pair . . . and both were evil."² A natural supposition might be that her name affords a possible original for Niniane, but there is nothing in the history of either being to indicate an immediate connection between them. There is, however, in the external similarity of the names sufficient reason for a misunderstanding or confusion, by which a fay Niamh, and not Neman, appears in Celtic legend. In any event, the examples show that *Niamh* was a not uncommon Celtic name, that it was given to a fay, and was connected with the same theme that forms the kernel of the story told of Niniane, that of a mortal's retention by a fay in an enchanted dwelling.

Since the Celtic final *mh* has a spirant value,³ *Niamh* would possibly appear in a French written source as *Niave*,⁴ which might easily become *Niane*.⁵ It is to the existence, at one time, of just such a form as this latter that the references to the name of Merlin's love, and the attempted explanations point.⁶ "Si ot non en baptesme Viviane & ce est .i. nom en kardeu (*Harl. Ms.*, Caldien) qui soune autant en franchois com sele disoit *noiant ne ferai*, & se torna sor merlin la besoigne ensi comme li contes le devisera en avant."⁷ With this explanation of the *Vulgate Merlin*, that contained in the summary of

¹ The forms of the name are *Nemon*, *Neamain* (Pictet, *Rev. Arch.*, July, 1868, p. 14), *Niaman* (O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, III, 419), *Nemain* (*Cormac's Glossary*, cited by Hennessy), *Rev. Celt.*, I, 1870-1872, 35; *Tain Bo Cuailgne*, ib., 41, 42; *Rennes Dindsenchas*, 91 (see *Rev. Celt.*, XVI, 1895, 41, 42), *Nemhon* (*Rev. Celt.*, I, 36).

² See *Rev. Celt.*, I, 36; *Rev. Arch.*, July, 1868, p. 35; cf. *Rev. Celt.*, XII (1891), 131.

³ For this information I am indebted to Professor Robinson.

⁴ Cf. Nutt's transcription of the name, *Neave*, *Holy Grail*, p. 232.

⁵ Cf. Darnantes, *Lancelot*, II, xiii; Darvantes, *Prophecies*, p. c. Diane, variant, d'iave, Löseth, § 535; Anelac, Avelac, *Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1864, p. 119.

⁶ My attention has been called to this indication by Professor Sheldon.

⁷ *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 223.

Le Roi Artus by Paulin¹ Paris coincides, with a difference in spelling in the definition of the name : — *néant ou naant ne ferai*. The *Merlin* (1528),² says that *Nymanne* “ est ung nom de caldeie qui est a dire en francois *rien nen feraye*: ce nom se tourna dessus Merlin car ceste fille fut sage et si prudente que bien se sceut garder de plusieurs deceptions.” In the *English Merlin*³ we read :— “Hir name was cleped Nimiane, and it is a name of ebrewes that seith in frensch *ment neu ferai*, that is to sey in english, I shall not lye, and this turned upon Merlin as ye shall here her-after.” This last interpretation obviously comes from a misreading of *ment* for *nient*. Even without knowing of any possible original, we should infer that Niniane is surely a foreign name, quite possibly a learned name, that had puzzled some worthy narrator, and led him from the sounds of familiar syllables to construct a phrase significant of a maiden’s deep-laid protestations of innocence, which Merlin learned were not to be trusted. To what origin he assigned the name made very little difference to the story-teller so long as he selected a source sufficiently remote, and Chaldaic or any unusual tongue answered the purpose equally well. The name Escalibourc is treated in the *English Merlin* after the same fashion :— “and the letteres that were write on the swerde seide that the right name was cleped Escalibourc, whiche is a name in ebrewes, that is to sey in englissh, kyttynge, Iren, tymber, and steill.”⁴

From their comments alone it would appear that the authors are explaining a name which was spelled *Neiane*, *Neiene*, *Niane*, or *Niene*,⁵ and which as a foreign name was associated by

¹ Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 174.

² P. cxlv.

³ P. 308.

⁴ P. 118; cf. Sommer, *Malory*, III, 70, note 1. Cf. the mysterious letters on Solomon’s ship — *lettres d’or en caldin escrites*, — Lonelich, *Seynt Graal*, London, 1861–1863, ch. xxviii, v. 108; *Histoire de Grimaud*, Hucher, *Saint Graal*, Paris, 1878, III, 326 :— *Cette demoiselle . . . avoit non Gratille en grei, qui valt atretant à dire en françois comme bonne euré*; *Vulgate Merlin*, p. 311 :— Merlin, in the form of a wild man of the woods, prophesies before the emperor, Julius Cæsar; on leaving the palace he explains by an inscription that he writes in Hebrew over the door (*si escrist lettres toutes noire es listes del huis en ebreu*) that he is Merlin.

⁵ Such a form as one of these Heinrich von dem Türlin (*Diu Crône*, v. 1603) may have had before him, when in a list of ladies at Arthur’s court he placed *Neini* (variant *Neyn*) die twerginne. He is perhaps interpreting *Neini* as *Naine*, a French word that might have been suggested to him by any one of the hypothetical spellings for Niniane’s name which we have seen that the passages quoted above imply.

French hearers with that combination of French words (*nient ne*) nearly identical with it in sound (i.e., *niâne*). Obviously, however, although the explanations of the name apply to any of the forms that I have just mentioned (Neiane, Neiene, Niane, Niene), they do not apply to the actual spelling of the name employed by the compilers, who apparently knew it with an additional Ni— at the beginning, and hence either are disregarding a syllable, or are credulously accepting an explanation of an earlier form of the name than that which they used in their story. I have already mentioned Paris's recognition of a connection between the names *Ninianus* and *Ninienne*. From *Niave* there might be made *Niane*, *Niniane* in the same way that the Latin *Ninianus* was formed from *Nenn*, *Neann*, *Nein*, the popular forms of the name of St. Ninian, a fifth century Irish apostle among the Britons and Southern Picts.¹ It is altogether plausible, then, to suppose that a story of Merlin and Niane passed through a Latin medium,² in which the fay was named *Niniana*, before a French redactor rendered her name *Niniane*.³

In addition to the implication of the passages explaining *Niniane*'s name, her association with Diana supplies another

¹ The earliest latinization of St. Ninian's name that we know is *Ninia*, the form used by Bede, Alcuin, and William of Malmesbury. In the Irish calendar the saint's name has the prefix *mo*, in the forms *Monenn*, *Maoineann*, *Monein*. During the Irish occupation of Whithearn we hear of the names *Nennio*, *Monennus*. See Forbes, *Life of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern (Historians of Scotland)*, Edinburgh, 1874, V, v; *Rev. Celt.*, XIX (1898), 97. This name suggests a possible popular form for *Nennius*. The later latinization of St. Ninian's name, which is not established until after the time of St. Ailred (ob. 1166) is *Ninianus* (see Forbes, p. 256, note B). The influence of the earlier forms of *Ninia*, treated as an *a* stem, and hence looking like a feminine, may have produced from *Niave* > *Niane* a latinization *Niniania* > *Niniana*, owing to the fact that *-ana* is the more common termination. It is, however, in no way necessary to assume any direct influence of *Ninianus* upon *Niniane*; the two cases are parallel.

Even the form *Niamh* might have been latinized into *Niniana*; cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth's latinization of *Teilav*, *Chelanus*; *Hist. Brit.*, Bk. IX, ch. xv.

² Popular stories passed through a Latin medium in many instances; Johannes de Alta Silva, for example, made a Latin version of popular stories, which Herbert worked over in the *Dolopathos*. See also *Tyolet*, vv. 27 ff.; Wulff, *Lai du Cor*, by Biquet, Lund and Paris, 1888, p. 8; *Lays of Graelent*, etc., p. 175, note 1.

³ *Niniane*'s name occurs in the French romances in the following forms:—

Niniene (variants, *Nimenne*, *Nimainne*, *Lancelot*, II, xii; *Niniane*, *Nynyane*, *Nivienne*, *Jumenne*, variants cited by Paris, *Huth Merlin*, I, xlv.

indication that before a learned clerk made his Latin version of the story, the fay was known in France as *Niane*, or that by the side of the Latin form this popular name survived for a time. *Niane* is sufficiently near to *Diane* to account for the partial identification of Niniane with the goddess.

note 1, from manuscripts of the *Lancelot*; the last two forms Paris attributes to copyists' errors.

Nimanne, *Merlin* (1528), I, cxlv.

Nymanne, *Id.*, ib.

Nimane, *Vulgate Merlin*, variant cited p. 402.

Niniane, *Livre d'Artus*, P., throughout.

Niviene, Nivene, Nievenne, *Huth Merlin*, II, 136, 139, 141.

Viviane, *Merlin* (1528), II, cxxvi, cxxvii; *Vulgate Merlin*, throughout; Paris, R. T. R., throughout.

Vivienne, cited by Paris, *Huth Merlin*, I, xlv, note 1.

The English texts have the following forms:—

Nimiane, *Arthour and Merlin*, v. 4445; *English Merlin*, pp. 308, 565, 634, 635, 678.

Nimiame, *Id.*, p. 314.

Nymue, *Malory*, Bk. III, ch. 13; Bk. IV, ch. 23; Bk. XVIII, ch. 8; Bk. XIX, ch. 11.

Nyneue, *Id.*, Bk. IV, ch. 1; Bk. IX, ch. 16.

Nynyue, *Id.*, Bk. XXI, ch. 6.

Either an original Niniane (Nynyane) or Niniene, owing to the nasal vowel in the penult would almost certainly bring the other with it, and from either of these forms by an obvious error, such as we have already seen exemplified in the *English Merlin* in the misunderstanding of *nient* for *ment*, there might arise *Nimane*, *Nimanne* (*Nymanne*), *Nimaine*, *Nimenne*,—forms which are evidently the basis for the spellings with *m* in the English texts. By the very common scribal interchange of *n* and *v*, we may explain from *Niniene* the variant *Nivienne* in the *Lancelot*, as well as the forms in the *Huth Merlin*, where we evidently have to do with a scribe indifferent to spelling, since he never uses the same form of the name twice. *Niviene* may be regarded as an intermediate to *Viviane* (*-enne*), a form the adoption of which may have been assisted by the name of the hero Vivian, prominent in the Garin de Montglane cycle. The forms preserved, therefore, support a primitive Niniane. Similar vagaries in the spelling of proper names are commonplace in the romances. As variants for Neroneus de l'Ile, there occur Neroveus, Noroneaus, Noroneans, Neron, Norneaus, Veroneus (see Löseth, § 92, note 3). Vannes appears as Vanes, Venes, Nantes (see *Rom.*, XXVIII, 1899, p. 215, note 2); Isaune is written Ysane, Ysenne, Ysame, Ysaive, Yseve (see *Rom.*, XXVIII, 215, note 3). Cf. Löseth, § 61, note 1.

CHAPTER XV

THE THREE IMPORTANT FAYS OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE

ALTHOUGH we have learned, even as Spenser did, that faërie is "exceeding spacious and wide," yet all paths have led practically in one direction. The kernel of the traditions connected with Morgain, the Dame du Lac, and Niniane is found in the typical Celtic fairy-mistress story, which antedates at the latest the eighth century. Yet all three fays possess a distinct individuality, and although Morgain has by far the most important mythological significance, each represents a separate imaginative conception. We must therefore reject the view of Rhÿs that the Lady of the Lake and Niniane "may be taken as different aspects of the one mythic figure, the lake-lady Morgen,"¹ for not only were they originally three distinct beings, but, although the Lady of the Lake and Niniane are sometimes confused in story, each of the three fays retains in general her own personality.

Our study has shown us also that three important principles operate in producing the fay of Arthurian romance. The established character or tradition of the hero is here the determinative element in the episode, and this fact frequently transforms the part of the fay from its original state. Moreover, the fay is not a wholly simple product, but although primarily the creation of Celtic myth, she has attracted to herself from other sources the traditions of supernatural beings, and has been influenced by Roman and even Scandinavian myth. In the third place, the tendency to rationalization has altered her original character. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Celtic other world and its inhabitants were continually brought nearer to the courtly life of France, until the distant land of Mag Mell lay for the writer of romance in a wonderful mediaeval castle on the bank of a stream, and the fairy mistress

¹ *Arthurian Legend*, p. 348.

was only a beautiful maiden taught the necromantic art by wise masters, and even was so far associated with this world that a poet could identify her in his imagination with his own lady. The study of Morgain, the Dame du Lac, and Niniane in turn has made it evident that in the fairy lore of Arthurian romance we are dealing with rationalized myth, which produces a strangely incongruous and incomprehensible whole, unless it is interpreted in the light of Celtic tradition. That to each of the most important fays of the Arthurian cycle a Celtic origin is to be assigned is a view evidently enforced by an investigation of their nature.

EXCURSUS I

MORGAIN IN FRENCH SOURCES OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

I

FLORIAN ET FLORETE

THE tradition of Morgain that is recorded in the thirteenth-century romance, *Florian et Florete*, domiciles her in Sicily on Mongibello.¹ Here she brings up the young Florian, hither by a stag messenger she guides him when the time has come for his removal from earth,² and this is the land to which she purposes bringing her brother, Arthur, when he is mortally wounded.³ Morgain's connection with Sicily, as Graf⁴ has pointed out, is indirectly explained by a popular tradition recorded both by Gervasius of Tilbury,⁵ who paid a visit to Sicily about the year 1190, and also by his contemporary, Caesarius of Heisterbach,⁶ according to which the wounded King Arthur rests in a beautiful palace situated on a smiling plain on the roughest slope of Mongibello. This special phase of the Arthurian legend that we find actually domesticated in Sicily Graf, and even more earnestly Zimmer, believes to be due to the Normans, who were in intimate communication with the Bretons before the eleventh century, and who when they came to Sicily doubtless imported the Breton stories with which they were familiar.⁷

In the versions of Gervasius and Caesarius Morgain has no place, and it is probably simply in consequence of the legend

¹ Morgain is referred to as *la fée de Montgibel*, in *Chevalier du Papegaut*, ed. Heuckenkamp, Halle, 1896, p. 11.

² See above, p. 38, note 4.

³ See above, pp. 17, 18, 190.

⁴ *Giorn. Stor.*, V (1885), 91.

⁵ *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Leibnitz, I, 921. See Paris, *Rom.*, V (1876), 110; Pitrè, *Rom.*, XIII (1884), 391.

⁶ *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Strange, Cologne, Bonn, and Brussels, 1851, Dist. XII, cap. xii.

⁷ For references see above, p. 49, note 1.

that already associated Arthur with the mountain that her dwelling is said to be there in the romance of *Floriant et Florete*.

In Sicily alone Morgain is connected with the sea.

Un poi devant la mienuit
S'en revenoient de deduit
.iij. fées de la mer salée ;
La mestresse d'aux ert nommée
Morgain, la suer le roi Artu.¹

No other lines in the Morgain saga connect Morgain directly with the sea.² Moreover in Sicily the name of the fay lives to-day in the mirage that appears near Messina, the *Fata Morgana*.³ "Si credette allora," says Graf, "alla reale presenza della fata in quei luoghi, e il fenomeno si considerò come un' opera dell' arte sua."⁴ Placido Reyna, a Sicilian writer of the seventeenth century, reports a belief in his time of the presence of Morgain near Pelorus :— "Haec vero de sirenibus fabula aliam vulgi de saga quadam cui nomen Morgana, narrationem aeque fabulosam in memoriam mihi revocat, quoniam et haec ad delicias tractus Peloritani declarandas inventa videtur.

¹ *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 550–554.

² The modern inhabitants of Ouessant, one of the islands off the coast of Armorica, are said to believe in the *Morganised* (masc. *Morganed*), a race of little people, blue-eyed, rosy-cheeked, fair to see, who are addicted to the habit common with maidens of the streams of combing their curling golden locks with golden combs on the banks of rivers (see Luzel, *Voyage à l'Île d'Ouessant*, *Revue de France*, V, Mars, 1874, 187, 207; *Contes Populaires de Basse-Bretagne*, Paris, 1887, II, 257–272; Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XIII, 1892, 497. Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la H. Bretagne*, I, additions to p. 92, refers to a study by Luzel, *Les Fées des houles des Côtes-du-Nord, les Morganes de l'Île d'Ouessant et les Femmes volantes*, announced for the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère*, April or May, 1881). We have not enough information to warrant much theorizing about them. Their name may, perhaps, be more properly connected with such a form as the Welsh *Morganiad*, the term by which *Pelagians* is translated in Article IX of the Book of Common Prayer, than with *Morgain la fée* (see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 373). If they represent in name and traits a survival of early tradition, it is possible that a misunderstanding of Morgain's name associated her with them. The modern name in Ouessant for fays of the streams is said to be *Mary-Morgant*; see Lot, *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 326, note 3; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 375.

³ For a description of the Fata Morgana, see, e.g., *The Universal Cyclopædia*, New York, 1900, s. v., also under *Mirage*.

⁴ *Giörn. Stor.*, V, 98.

Formosissimam hanc esse sagam narrant, quae terram nostram incolat ac saepe numero, qua potentia praedita sit, admirabili ratione demonstrat."¹ The association in the popular mind between fairydom and a mirage which charms with its beauty and then vanishes as suddenly as the magic castle at dawn is not unusual;² the recurrence of the natural phenomenon with which Morgain, the wonder-working fairy queen, had become connected, rather than a peculiar tenacity of the Morgain tradition in Sicily, has quite possibly served to perpetuate her name there.

The localization of the tradition near Messina and the association of Morgain with the sea in Sicily, since sirens and fays are often identified,³ may not at all improbably have been influenced by the stories of the sirens who from antiquity have been connected with this region.

II

LI JUS ADAN⁴

Li Jus Adan, written ca. 1262,⁵ represents perhaps as wide a divergence from the original traditions of Morgain as any source before the fourteenth century. The scene here in which Morgain appears is characterized by the popular conception of the fays as people to be dreaded by honest folk and viewed with displeasure by the church.⁶

A monk one evening is collecting offerings for the saints from a crowd of people in a part of Arras, to which Morgain and her attendants are in

¹ *Ad notitiam historicam urbis Messanae Introductio*, col. 36, ap. Graevium, *Thesaurus*, IX; cited by Graf, *Giorn. Stor.*, V, 98.

² See the discussion of modern Welsh stories of fairy islands due to mirages, in Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, pp. 168-173; also the explanation of fairy circles in Pluquet, *Contes Populaires*, Rouen, 1834, p. 4.

³ See pp. 50 (cf. Paris, *MSS. franc.*, III, 165), 191, note 1, 278; *Floriant et Florete*, p. xliii, note 14; *Straparola*, ed. Val. Schmidt, Berlin, 1817, p. 316; Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la H. Bretagne*, I, 105; cf. especially the description given by Gervasius (ed. Liebrecht, p. 31; cf. note) of beings whom he calls "sirens of the British sea," a locality which leads us to suspect that his story represents a confused tradition of fays.

⁴ Pp. 73-85. Also *Œuvres Complètes du Trouvère Adam de la Halle*, ed. Coussemaker, Paris, 1872, pp. 316-333.

⁵ See Coussemaker's edition, p. xv; Paris, *La Litt. franc. au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1890, § 132.

⁶ Cf. Maury, pp. 16, 49 ff.

the habit of coming. A table is spread in anticipation of their arrival. Before they appear, Crokesot, a messenger from the fairy monarch Hellekin,¹ joins the group, bringing to Morgain an offer of love from his master. Morgain enters with her companions, Maglore and Arsile, and all three seat themselves at the table prepared for them. Morgain and Arsile proceed to give riches, love, beauty, success to the two citizens who have made such admirable preparations for them, but Maglore, who is vexed at the discovery that no knife has been laid at her place, awards ill fortune. Morgain next turns her attention to Crokesot. When she hears his message she assures him that she has given her affection to Robert Soumeillons, an excellent young man of the town of Arras, and that Hellekin sighs in vain; but Arsile and Crokesot easily persuade her to think better of the charms of Hellekin and to promise to be his *amie* forever. The gathering is broken up by Dame Douce, who wishes Morgain's assistance in bringing to disgrace a certain man. The fays flit away singing, —

Par chi va la mignotise, par chi où je vois.

III

LA CHANSON D'ESCLARMONDE²

La Chanson d'Esclarmonde is one of the continuations of the *Huon de Bordeaux*. Here Morgain appears as the mother of Auberon, but her part has nothing peculiarly characteristic about it, and the scene in which she is most prominent is strangely influenced by legends of the church.

Morgain is mentioned as present at Auberon's death bed, and as prepared to extend courtesies to Arthur and Huon, who are at Monmur, Auberon's palace, at the time of his death. Auberon has made Huon his heir, but Arthur has disputed Huon's right to inherit Faërie on the ground that he is married to a mortal, Esclarmonde. Auberon therefore has decreed that Arthur and Huon shall settle their claims by combat after his death. Since in the combat neither succeeds in vanquishing the other, they decide to meet every year on the same day and try their chances again. Huon remains at Monmur with Esclarmonde. In answer to a wish of his, all the fays of fairyland appear before him, Dame Oriande, Dame Marse, Sebile, and Morgain being especially in evidence. Morgain is spokeswoman, and assures Huon of the loyalty of the fays; but they refuse to obey him unless he takes a fay for his wife. Huon drops fainting into the arms of Morgain, who is ready to offer him the consolations of religion and

¹ On the *maisnie Hellekin*, see *Jus Adan*, p. 73, note; Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Légendes*, Paris, 1836, pp. 148-150, 240-245; Gervasius of Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, p. 198; Raynaud, *Études romanes dédiées à G. Paris*, Paris, 1891, pp. 51-68; *Rom.*, XXII (1893), 138-140.

² Vv. 2854-3455.

her own aid. Morgain proposes that she, Oriande, Marse, and Sebile carry Esclarmonde to the Earthly Paradise to Jesus, and entreat Him to turn her into a fay. Without delay they hurry Esclarmonde off through the air to the Earthly Paradise, and plunge her into the Fountain of Youth. In answer to a prayer of Morgain's Jesus comes to them, breathes upon the lips of Esclarmonde, whispers in her ear, signs her thrice with the sign of the cross, places her feet upon His own, and instantaneously she is wafted into the air and endowed with the true fairy virtue forever. The fays in their joy at the result take a bath in the fountain, and Morgain proceeds to test Esclarmonde's newly acquired graces by bidding her wish the entire company back to Monmur. Esclarmonde obeys, and the five fays at once stand before Huon. Morgain presents his regenerated spouse to him, arrays her in magnificent raiment and crowns her. Huon bestows a complimentary crown upon the four great fays with the approval of all fairydom.

IV

BRUN DE LA MONTAIGNE

In *Brun de la Montaigne*,¹ a romance of the fourteenth century, Morgain is a powerful fay, the mistress of a castle where fair ladies dwell, and where young knights are welcome guests. Her part is entirely free from any distinctive characteristics.

¹ Vv. 3252-3261, 3539 ff.

EXCURSUS II

A LIST OF THE SOURCES FOR THE TRADITIONS OF MORGAIN LA FÉE, THE DAME DU LAC, AND NINIANE

I. SOURCES FOR THE TRADITION OF MORGAIN¹

<i>Auberon</i>	<i>Livre d'Artus, P.</i>
<i>Bataille Loquifer</i>	Löseth
<i>Brun de la Montaigne</i>	<i>Malory</i>
Chrétien de Troies, <i>Erec; Yvain</i>	<i>Mantel mal taillé</i>
<i>Claris et Laris</i>	<i>Ogier le Danois</i>
<i>Didot-Perceval</i>	Paris, R. T. R.
<i>English Merlin</i>	<i>Parlement of the thre Ages</i>
<i>Esclarmonde</i>	<i>Perceval</i>
<i>Floriant et Florete</i>	<i>Prophecies</i>
Gervasius of Tilbury, <i>Otia Imperi-</i>	<i>Prophecies de Merlin</i> , in Sommer,
<i>alia</i>	<i>Malory</i>
Giraldus Cambrensis, <i>De Principis</i>	<i>Pulsella Gaia</i>
<i>Instructione; Speculum Eccle-</i>	<i>Roman de Troie</i>
<i>sias</i>	<i>Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight</i>
Hartmann von Aue, <i>Erec; Iwein</i>	<i>Tavola Ritonda</i>
<i>Huon de Bordeaux</i>	<i>Tristano</i>
<i>Huth Merlin</i>	<i>Vallon des faux Amants</i>
<i>Jus Adan</i>	<i>Vita Merlini</i>
<i>Lancelot</i>	<i>Vulgate Merlin</i>

II. A LIST OF THE FORMS OF MORGAIN'S NAME TOGETHER WITH THE SOURCES WHERE THEY OCCUR

Morgen: — *Vita Merlini*, vv. 920, 933.

Morgue: — *Erec*, vv. 4220, 4222 (nom.).

Yvain, v. 2953 (nom.); cf. var. Margue.

Bataille Loquifer, pp. 249, 255, 256 (nom.).

Prose Erec, p. 264 (acc.).

Vulgate Merlin, p. 77 (acc.).

Huth Merlin, I, 166, 199, 262, 268, 269, 271, 272; II, 168, 179, 188–190, 199, 208, 212–214, 217–228, 230, 250, 251 (nom.); I, 120 (case uncertain: — *qui ot a non Morgue . . . fu elle apielee Morgue la fee*)

¹ Sources that contain merely a passing mention of Morgain are not included in this list.

Morgue (continued): — *Auberon*, vv. 1210, 1226, 1261, 1279, 1292, 1303, 1317, 1437, 1449, 2026, 2057, 2256 (nom.); 1232, 1299, 1326, 1470, 1572, 2117, 2173, 2269 (acc.)

Ogier le Danois (rifacimento of *La Chevalerie Ogier* by Raimbert de Paris),¹ *MS. de l'Arsenal* cited by Renier, *Mem. della Reale Accad. delle Scienze di Torino*, Serie 2, XLI, 431; *MS. of the British Museum*, *ib.*, 432, and *Brun de la Montaigne*, pp. xi, xii; *MS. de Turin*, Renier, l.c., 432; (fifteenth-century prose romance) Dunlop-Liebrecht, pp. 535, 536 no. 20 (nom.).

Brun de la Montaigne, vv. 3252 (acc.); 3399, 3599 (nom.).

Jus Adan, pp. 73, 76 (nom.); 77 (acc.).

Chanson d'Esclarmonde, vv. 3029, 3073, 3076, 3084, 3087, 3150, 3209, 3227, 3256, 3291, 3300, 3320, 3332, 3340, 3390, 3420, 3447 (nom.); 3234, 3267 (acc.).

Galiëns li Restorés, 173 (21) (acc.).

Clarisse et Florent, v. 5921.

Morghe: — *Perceval*, vv. 30,266, 30,312, 30,326 (nom.); 30,240, 30,308 (acc.).

Renart le Nouvel, v. 4810 (nom.).

*Morge*²: — *Erec*, var. v. 4218.

Yvain, var. v. 2953.

Bel Inconnu, v. 4263 (nom.).

Huon de Bordeaux, v. 16 (case uncertain: — *Morge ot a non*); 3493, 10,381 (nom.).

Beaudous, v. 2237 (nom.).

Morgain: — *Erec*, v. 1957 (acc.); var. v. 4220, *Morgains* (nom.).

Tyolet, v. 630 (acc.).

Lancelot, II, lxx, lxxi (nom.); lxix, lxxi (acc.); lxix, *Morgains* (nom.).

Vulgate Merlin, pp. 269, 270, 361; 362, *Morgains* (nom.); 361 (acc.); 77 (case uncertain: — *qui ot a non Morgain*).

Huth Merlin, I, 266, 268; II, 152, 189, 199, 225 (nom.); I, 163, 164, 201, 268–270, 272; II, 168, 174, 178, 180, 185, 188, 189, 191, 199, 211, 212, 214, 217, 221, 224, 228, 229, 230, 250, 251 (acc.).

Prophecies de Merlin, Sommer, *Malory*, III, 304–306, 308–311 (used without case distinction).

Prophecies, pp. xv, xxi, xlv, lxviii–lxxi, lxxvii, xcv ff., c (used without case distinction).

¹ See above, p. 74.

² Of the three forms, *Morgue*, *Morghe*, *Morge*, the first is the earliest, and the two latter may be regarded as variants of it meaning the same sound. The *h* in *Morghe* is undoubtedly a mere graphical sign to indicate the quality of the *g*. Similar variants to *Morgue*, *Morge* are *Guerin*, *Gerin*; *Guenelon*, *Genelon*; *Guingambresil*, *Gingambresil*; *Guinglain*, *Giglain*.

Morgain (*continued*): — *English Merlin*, pp. 185, 316, 507, 508.

Paris, *R. T. R.*, throughout.

Löseth, §§ 41, 47, 107–108, 115–116, 118, 190–192 a, 238, 265, 282 b, 611, 625, 627 (var. Marganor); pp. 186, 192–194, 217, 219, 223, 374, 382, 384, 443⁸, 482, 483, 490, 491 (used without case distinction).

Auberon, vv. 1465, 2266 (acc.).

Floriant et Florete, vv. 555, 567, 774, 808, 812, 831, 926, 2379, 2523, 3591, 5145 (nom.); 769, 816, 8212; 2083, Morgains (acc.).¹

Morgan:² — *Roman de Troie*, v. 7989 (nom.).

Roman de Thèbes, II, App. I, v. 2812 (acc.), an interpolated passage of unknown date in a manuscript preserving in general the orthography of the twelfth century.³

¹ The following spellings which are not important or significant may be explained from the above early forms: — *Morguen*, *Erec*, var., vv. 1957, 4220; *Prose Erec*, var., p. 264; *Didot-Perceval*, I, 502 (cf. *Morgwen*, a form cited by Bellamy, *Le Fort de Bréchéliant*, Rennes, 1896, I, 129). This spelling may be due to the influence of the forms in *n* acting upon *Morgue*. So also *Morguain* (*Auberon*, vv. 1219, 1250, 1415), *Morguain* (*Lancelot*, II, lxxi), *Mourguein* (*Le Mantel mal taillé*, pp. 126 ff.) look as if they might be the result of an attempt to combine the accusative *Morgain* and the nominative *Morgue*. *Mourgue* is a form cited from ancient manuscripts without authority by Legrand d'Aussy (*Fabliaux ou Contes*, I, 152). *Mourgues* and *Morgene* are also forms used by modern writers without mention of authority (Reiffenberg, *Philippe Mouskès*, Brussels, 1838, p. cxxxviii; Bellamy, as above, I, 208). *Morgaine* (*Chevalier du Papegaut*, ed. Heuckenkamp, Halle, 1896, p. 11) is, like *Morgane* (p. 258, note 2), an attempt to give the name a feminine termination. *Morgne* (*English Merlin*, pp. 86, 374, 375; *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, vv. 2446, 2452), *Morgn* (*Parlement of the thre Ages*, v. 511) are due probably to scribal errors in writing *Morgue*. *Morgein* (*Arthour and Merlin*, v. 4445; *Le Vallon des faux Amants*, pp. 156 ff.), *Morgeins* (*English Merlin*, 86) may be explained as bearing the same relation to *Morgain* as *Gawein* to *Gauvain*, *Ewein* to *Yvain*.

With *Morgue* cf. the Danish *Morgua* (see above, p. 75, note 8), the Icelandic *Morgna* (*Jüens Saga*, ed. Kölbing, Halle, 1898, ix, 21), the Swedish *Murena*, Danish *Murne* (*Herr Ivan Lejon-Riddaren*, ed. Liffmann and Stephens, Stockholm, 1848). With the forms in *-uein* cf. the spellings in the Dutch *Lancelot*, — *Morguein* (v. 13,667), *Morgueyn* (s) (vv. 22,881, 22,968, 23,071, 23,264, 23,391, 23,396, 23,408, 23,759), *Morgueyne* (vv. 23,148, 23,558), *Morguweyn* (v. 13,654), *Morguyen* (vv. 22,942, 23,006, 23,026, 23,089), *Margueyn* (v. 22,954). With *Morgain* cf. the Greek *Mopyalrñ* (dative; *Tristan*, II, 270; see above, p. 141), and the Spanish *Morgayna* (*Huth Merlin*, I, xc, *El baladro del sabio Merlino*, cap. xxii). Some of the above references I have obtained from the complete and valuable collection of names for an Onomasticon of Arthurian Romance that Miss Alma Blount (Ph.D.) is preparing for publication.

² Although this form of the name is undeclined in the early instances, it exhibits the fluctuations between the nominative and accusative customary in thirteenth-century French. On the relation of *Morgan* to *Morgain*, see p. 152, note 1. See also p. 267.

³ See above, p. 132.

Morgan (*continued*): — *Huth Merlin*, I, 120 (apparently nominative in the phrase *qui ot nom Morgans*. The person designated is the daughter of Ygerne, who married King Neutre, and whom the author is evidently trying to distinguish from *Morgain la fée*, whom he calls either *Morgue* or *Morgain*).¹

Livre d'Artus, P., §§ 26, 27 (acc.); 47 (nom.).²

III. SOURCES FOR THE TRADITION OF THE DAME DU LAC

<i>Diu Crône</i>	Löseth
<i>English Merlin</i>	<i>Malory</i>
<i>Huth Merlin</i>	Paris, R. T. R., IV, V
<i>Lancelot</i>	<i>Prophecies</i>
<i>Lancelot du Lak</i>	<i>Tavola Ritonda</i>
<i>Lanzelet</i>	<i>Tristano</i>

IV. SOURCES FOR THE TRADITION OF NINIANE

<i>English Merlin</i>	<i>Malory</i>
<i>Huth Merlin</i>	<i>Merlin</i> , 1528
<i>Lancelot</i>	Paris, R. T. R., II, III
<i>Livre d'Artus</i> , P.	<i>Prophecies</i>
Löseth	<i>Vulgate Merlin</i>

¹ See p. 143; Freymond, *Zs. f. fr. Sp.*, XVII (1895), 38, note 1.

² There also exists the form *Morgant* (*Erec*, v. 1957, var., acc.; *Yvain*, v. 2953, var., nom.; here and also *Erec*, v. 4220, var., *Morgans*, nom.; *Claris et Laris*, v. 3692, nom., v. 3685, acc.; *Livre d'Artus*, P., p. 13, acc.; p. 15, *Morgans*, nom.) probably made from *Morgan* by analogy with other proper names in *an* which are spelled with or without a final *t* (for examples see *Lays of Graelent*, etc., p. 180). Rhôs (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 229, note 1; cf. *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 374, note 1) gives the oldest attested form of the masculine name *Morgan* as *Morcant*. With the double form of the name *Morgan*, *Morgant*, cf. Yvant, Ivain (*Bataille Loquifer*, pp. 248, 256). *Morgane* is used in a late source, the *Vallon des faux Amants* (Legrand d'Aussy, I, 156 ff.), evidently as the result of an endeavor to make the masculine *Morgan* recognizably feminine. With the form in final *an* cf. the latinization of Giraldus Cambrensis (*Speculum Ecclesiae*, II, 9), *Morganis*; also Hartmann von Aue, *Fârmurgân* (*Erec*, vv. 5155, 5229), *Feimorgân* (*Iwein*, v. 3422. *Marguel*, *Erec*, v. 1933, is probably adopted by Hartmann to suit the last word of the following verse, *Luntaguel*), Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, *Femurgân* (*Lanzelet*, v. 7185), Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Feimurgân* (*Parsival*, ed. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1871-1875, 56, v. 18), *Fârmurgâne* (*Parsival*, 585, v. 73), *Fârmorgân* (*Parsival*, 496, v. 7). On Wolfram's evident blunder here, see Grimm, *D. M.*, III, 243; Bartsch, *Parsival*, 56, v. 18; San Marte, *Parcival*, Halle, 1887, p. 447; Hagen, *Zs. f. d. Phil.*, XXVII (1894), 474; Martin, *Zur Graalsage*, Strassburg, 1880, p. 428. For confusions similar to Wolfram's see above, p. 138. Cf. further *Morgena* (*Morganin*) in Ulrich Fürterer, *Lanzelet*, ed. Peter, Tübingen, 1885, pp. 108 ff., 169, 194 ff., 207 ff., 335, 358; the Italian and Spanish form *Morgana*. With *Morgant* cf. the Latin *Morganda*, Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Leibnitz, I, 937.

EXCURSUS III

MORGAN TUD

I

ACCORDING to the Welsh *Geraint*, Edeyrn, the son of Nudd, came one day to Arthur's court grievously wounded. "And Arthur caused Morgan Tud to be called to him. He was the chief physician. 'Take with thee Edeyrn, the son of Nudd, and cause a chamber to be prepared for him, and let him have the aid of medicine as thou wouldst do unto myself, if I were wounded, and let none into his chamber to molest him, but thyself and thy disciples to administer to him remedies.' 'I will do so gladly, Lord,' said Morgan Tud."¹

On another occasion Geraint, who was absent from court on adventure, came sorely wounded and in pitiable plight to an encampment of Arthur's in the forest, and was welcomed gladly by the king. "Arthur also called Kadyrieith, and ordered him to pitch a tent for Geraint, and the physicians, and he enjoined him to provide him with abundance of all that might be requisite for him. And Kadyrieith did as he had commanded him. And Morgan Tud and his disciples were brought to Geraint. And Arthur and his hosts remained there nearly a month whilst Geraint was being healed. And when he was fully recovered, Geraint came to Arthur, and asked his permission to depart. 'I know not if thou art quite well.' 'In truth I am, Lord,' said Geraint. 'I shall not believe thee concerning that, but the physicians that were with thee.' So Arthur caused the physicians to be summoned to him, and asked them if it were true. 'It is true, Lord,' said Morgan Tud. So the next day Arthur permitted him to go forth, and he pursued his journey."²

These instances of the name Morgan Tud are unique, nor do we know of any physician of Arthur with whom this personage is to be identified. In the scene in Chrétien's *Erec* corresponding to the first of those cited above from *Geraint*, when Yder (Edeyrn) arrives at court, he is disarmed by squires, but there is no mention of the care of his wounds, still less of a physician.³ In the second case, Erec is healed by a magic ointment that had been given Arthur by Morgain (*Morgue*) his sister.⁴

¹ *Mabinogion*, II, 92.

² *Ib.*, 129.

³ Vv. 1089-1243.

⁴ Vv. 4218-4230.

Erec and Geraint arrive at the king's encampment under the same circumstances.

N'i a nul qui joie ne face.
 Iluec meismes an la place
 Li ont ses armes desvestues;
 Et quant ses plaies ont velies,
 Si retorne la joie an ire.
 Li rois mout parfont an sospire
 Et fet apporter un antret
 Que Morgue sa suer avoit fet.
 Li antrez iert de tel vertu,
 Que Morgue avoit doné Artu,
 Que ja plaie qui an fust ointe,
 Ou soit sor nerf ou soit sor jointe,
 Ne faussist qu'an une semaine
 Ne fust tote garie et saine,
 Mes que le jor une foliee
 Fust de l'antret aparelliee.
 L'antret ont le roi aporté,
 Qui mout a Erec conforté.
 Quant ses plaies orent lavees,
 Ressuilees et rebandeas,
 Li rois lui et Enide an mainne
 An la soe tante demainne,
 Et dist que por la soe amor
 Viaut an la forest a sejour
 Demorer quinze jorz toz plains,
 Tant qu'il soit toz gariz et sains.
 Erec de ce le roi mercie
 Et dist: "Biaus sire, je n'ai mie
 Plaie de quoi je tant me duelle,
 Que ma voie leissier an vuelle.
 Retenir ne me porroit nus.
 Demain, ja ne tarderai plus,
 M'an voudrai par matin aler,
 Des que le jor verrai lever." ¹

The king, finding that his remonstrances will not move Erec, says no more and orders supper:

Aprés soper ne tarda gueire,
 Comanderent les couches faire.
 Li rois avoit Erec mout chier:
 An un lit le fist seul couchier;
 Ne vost que avec lui couchast
 Nus qui a ses plaies touchast.²

In the morning Erec rises, apparently with no more wounds to trouble him, and fares forth on his way.³

Although Morgan Tud's name occupies so little space in literature, it has served as an extensive tilting ground for scholars, who have sought to connect the first part of the name with that of the fay, Morgain, and to give to the second an

¹ Vv. 4211-4244.

² Vv. 4267-4272.

³ Vv. 4279-4305.

appropriate significance. Rhys¹ proposes emending the text to *Morgant Hut* (or *hûd*), and then postulates a meaning for the result. "*Hut*, now *hûd*," he says, "means *illusion* or *enchantment*, but there must have been a word *hud* also, meaning one who practised illusion or enchantment, an elf or fairy," — conclusions too conjectural to be regarded seriously. According to Zimmer,² *Morgan Tud* can be explained only by the fact that Morgain la fée was an entirely unknown figure in the Welsh saga. The combination of *Morgan* and *Tud* is, he says, "scheinbar ganz sinnlos."

"Morgan ist ein bekannter und oft vorkommender kymr. Mannsname, dessen altkymr. Form Morcant wäre. . . . Nimmt man zu der Tatsache, dass Morgan ein häufig vorkommender kymr. Mannsname ist, noch die andere, dass für einen kymrischen Erzähler jener Zeit ein Leibarzt am Hofe Artur's selbstverständlich war . . . dann ist klar, wie ein kymr. Bearbeiter ganz von selbst dazu kam aus der ihm unbekannten Morgain la fée oder la sage den Morgan penn medygon (Morgan Haupt der Aerzte) an Artur's Hof zu machen. Was wollte er aber mit dem Zusatz Tud sagen? Kymr. *tud* ist ein ganz gewöhnliches Wort. . . . Im Kymr. hat das Wort seit Beginn der Litteratur nur die Bedeutung 'a region, a district.' . . . Da die kymr. Bedeutung von *tud* älter ist als die Romanze Geraint, so kann bei der Deutung von Tud in Morgan Tud nur von ihr ausgegangen werden und dann ist der Zusatz sinnlos. . . . Wenn nun der Name Morgan Tud in seinem zweiten Teil weder direkt aus der Quelle klar ist noch aus der bekannten und sichern Bedeutung von *tud*, dann scheint nur ein Drittes möglich: er beruht auf einem Missverständnis der Vorlage. . . . Morgan Tud ist in's Franz. übersetzt 'Morgan le pays.' Der Welshman betrachtete Morgain la fée als Eigennamen und verdolmetschte ihn sich als Morgan Tud (Morgan le pays). . . . Nun ist *tud* im Kymr. wie überhaupt im Kelt. ein Femininum; einem im Französischen nicht festen Welshman lag daher in Gedanken ein *la pays* = *tud* nahe.

"Hierzu kommt ein zweites. Im Kymr. . . . erscheint ein mit . . . *p* anlautendes [Wort] mit *b* oder *ph* (gesprochen und auch in Handschriften geschrieben *f*). . . .

"Wenn nun der Welshman in dem ihm vorliegenden Morgain la fée den Zusatz la fée nicht verstand — und dies müssen wir sicher annehmen, da er anderenfalls doch nicht einen Leibarzt Morgan aus dem weiblichen Wesen machen konnte — wenn er also la fée in Morgan la fée nicht verstand, dann lag es nahe, dass er einen Zusatz zu dem Namen darin sah und um diesen Zusatz zu übersetzen mit seinen mangelhaften Kenntnissen daran herumklügelte. Sollte es dem Welshman so fern gelegen haben Morgan la fée als Morgan la pays zu deuten? Dann war Morgan Tud gegeben."

¹ *Arthurian Legend*, p. 391.

² *Erec*, pp. xxviii–xxxi, note.

Foerster cites these words of Zimmer's in the course of an argument intended to show that the *Geraint* is a translation of Chrétien's *Erec*, an admirable proof of which, he says, is furnished by the evident misunderstanding of Morgain's name by the Welsh author of *Geraint*.¹

"Der Name *Morgan Tud* kommt ausser in *℞*² nie vor. Wohl aber ist eine ganz gewöhnliche Figur aller Artus-Romane Morgue la fée . . . eine Schwester Artus', die Zauberin ist und heilt. Morgue hat im acc. Morgain oder Morgaint. Es ist daher sehr wahrscheinlich, dass der Name Morgan in *℞* (das kleine Wörtchen Tud ist in der Absicht des Keltisierens hinzugefügt, die Bedeutung desselben wird die eines schmückenden Beiwortes sein) aus dieser Form entstanden ist, indem sie fälschlich für die eigentliche Form des Namens gehalten wurde. Die Akkusativ-Form hat keine weibliche Endung, und wir sehen dem entsprechend diese Figur in *℞* als männliche Person auftreten."³

The views of Zimmer and Foerster, then, rest primarily on the theory that *Morgan Tud* is an ignorant translation of *Morgan* (*Morgain*) *la fée*. But it is important to observe that the passage in Chrétien's *Erec* from which Foerster gives us to understand that he believes the Welshman is translating does not contain the words *Morgan la fée* at all. The lines read

. . . un antret
Que Morgue sa suer avoit fet.⁴

The maker of the magic ointment is simply Morgue, the sister of Arthur. In an earlier passage in the *Erec*,⁵ which is not represented in the *Geraint*, mention is made of *Morgain la fée*, who loved Guingomar. If, as Zimmer argues, the name *Morgan Tud* is explainable only when we use *Morgan la fée* as a point of departure, we are forced to believe that the Welsh author was applying to the personage in question a name not found in the passage that he was translating, or that he recognized in the *Morgue sa suer* of the lines that he had before him the same being as the *Morgain la fée*, whose name occurs earlier in the poem in a passage which, be it said, is not represented at all in the *Geraint*. In both passages in the *Erec*, Morgain is essentially and unquestionably feminine; in one she is

Erec, pp. xxvi, xxvii.
² *℞* = *Geraint*.
³ *Erec*, pp. xxvii-xxix.

⁴ Vv. 4217 ff.

⁵ V. 1957.

a mortal's loved one, in the other a mortal's sister. Clearly, if we accept Zimmer's view, there is only one course open to us: we must give our Welshman credit for understanding his material well enough to know that Morgain la fée, Guingomar's fairy mistress, was the same person as Morgue, Arthur's sister, but accuse him of not knowing that she was a female being — obviously an impossible situation, if the Welshman was rational.

J. Loth,¹ with whom F. Lot concurs,² offers a more reasonable explanation: —

“Zimmer triomphe de ce que Morgan la fée est remplacée dans le roman gallois de Geraint ab Erbin par un homme, Morgan Tut, et conclut à une erreur des Gallois provenant de ce que la légende de Morgain leur était étrangère. De toutes les traditions galloises, il n'y en a pas eu, au contraire, de plus tenace que les légendes des fées. . . . S'il y a eu une erreur, elle doit venir de l'écrivain français. Les *fées* femmes lui étaient plus familières que les *fées* mâles. . . . Il aura trouvé dans sa source anglo-normande *Morgan le Fé* ou *le Fed* et aura tout naturellement lu *Morgan la Fede* ou *la FÉE*. (V. au mot *fed*, Godefroy, *Dict. anc. franç.* Littré, au mot *fée*, remarque que *fé* est *masculin en normand*.) Tel est, en effet, probablement le sens de l'épithète *tut* dans le récit gallois. *Tut* doit être corrigé en Tuth ou Tud, et être rapproché de l'armoricain *Teus*, lutin, génie malfaisant ou bienfaisant. (Grég. de Rostr., *Dict.*, esprit follet, lutin, teuz, teuziou.) . . . On le trouve sous la forme *tuth* (écrite *tuthe* avec un *e* fém. français) dans une vie de saint Maudez, que M. de la Borderie croit composée, non sans raison, vers la fin du XI^e siècle: il s'agit d'un *démon* qui s'amuse à troubler les disciples de Maudet . . . résidant avec leur maître dans l'île de *Gweld-Enes*: . . . contigit quadam die, absente magistro suo, quod quidam daemon quem Britones *Tuthe* appellant coram eis apparuit.”

This explanation also fails to be wholly satisfactory, because the meaning of *tuth* as Loth gives it is not altogether appropriate to the person of Morgan Tud in the *Geraint*; and furthermore because Loth does not explain what relation the Anglo-Norman source which he supposes Chrétien was using bore to the Welsh text.

II

If we leave the *Geraint* and the *Erec* for the time being and look at the chronicles, we get a little light upon the name *Morgan Tud*.

¹ See *Rev. Celt.*, XIII (1892), 496, 497. ² See *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 322 ff.

According to a twelfth-century manuscript (*Harleian No. 3859*)¹ of the *Annales Cambriae*, the oldest extant Welsh annals, which were redacted at the end of the tenth or in the early eleventh century,² there is the record for the year 796 :— *Offa rex Merciorum et Morgetiud rex Demetorum morte moriuntur*. For the year 811, there is a record of *Eugem filius Margetiud*, which in the Welsh Genealogies following the *Annales Cambriae* in the same manuscript³ stands as *Owein map Marget iut*;⁴ in the same genealogies the name occurs with the spelling *Morgetiud* :— *Regin map Morgetiud; Regin, Iudon, Owen, tres filii Morgetiud sunt*.⁵ This *Morgetiud* (*Margetiud*) is the ancient Welsh form, according to Loth, of *Maredudd*,⁶ a familiar name evidently, which occurs in the *Dream of Rhonabwy* as that of Madawc's father,⁷ and in the later manuscripts of the *Annales Cambriae* as a variant reading for the two records of 796 and 811 cited above;⁸ in fact in the later records of the *Annales* it appears as the name of no less than seventeen different persons.⁹ From Geoffrey,¹⁰ Wace,¹¹ and Lazamon¹² we also hear of a Margadud, the son of the Ebraucus (or Ebrac) who built the Castle of Maidens. Through the same chroniclers, too, the name is known as that of a King of South Wales, who attains a certain prominence in the councils of Cadwalla.¹³ Thus the evidence shows that *Morgetiud*, *Margetiut* (or *-d*), *Margadud* existed as a not uncommon early Welsh name ; and it also points to the probability that by the time of the composition of the *Geraint*, certainly by the time of the transcription of the manuscript that we know, it would have an archaic flavor or even be entirely

¹ Ed. Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, IX (1888), 152 ff.

² See *Ib.*, 144-147.

⁴ *Ib.*, 171 (ii).

³ *Ib.*, 169 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, 175 (xlii, xiv).

⁶ Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Paris, 1889, I, 285, note. See *Ann. de Bretagne*, II (1886-1887), no. 3, p. 405, s.v. Margit-holarn; *Rev. Celt.*, XVI (1895), 361; Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People*, London, 1900, p. xi.

⁷ See Loth, l.c.

⁸ *Maredud; Meredut, Maredut.*

⁹ See *Annales Cambriae*, ed. Williams ab Ithel (Rolls Series), London, 1860, Index Nominum.

¹¹ *Brut*, v. 1581.

¹⁰ *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. II, ch. vii.

¹² *Brut*, I, 114.

¹³ *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. XI, ch. xlii, in the form Margaduc; Bk. XII, ch. xii; cf. Bk. IX, ch. xli. Wace, *Brut*, vv. 14,380, 14,387, 15,007, 15,037. Lazamon, *Brut*, vv. 29,925, 29,933, 29,945, 29,973, 31,633, 31,637; in the form Maergadud, v. 31,706.

unfamiliar. It would take but a slight and very ordinary scribal error to transform this unfamiliar *Morgetiud* to the *Morgan Tut*, *Morgant Tut* that appears in the manuscript of *Geraint*.¹ The forms of the name given above show that the *i* is not always present, and that the final consonant varies between *d* and *t*. A scribe need be guilty of no unusual inaccuracy who wrote an *a* for an *e*, and understood the cross of a *t* as the regular manuscript contraction for *n*, placed over the vowel.² The recurrence of the error, especially in a text transcribed from an earlier manuscript,³ is in no way extraordinary. Nor is the division of the one unfamiliar name into two words a matter for surprise. We detect German sources splitting in this way French proper names. In Stricker's *Daniel von dem Blühenden Tal* one variant for *Gengamor* is *Gegen gamor*;⁴ Heinrich von dem Türlin in giving the long list of knights who drank from the *coupe enchantée* presses into the service the guests whom Chrétien had named among those at Erec's wedding, and renders the *Menagormon* of *Erec* (v. 1937), by *Margue Gormon*.⁵ In the case of *Morgan Tut* the division might very probably have been influenced by the common Welsh name *Morgan*.⁶

Even if the evidence shows satisfactorily that Morgan Tud's name is intelligible as the result of a commonplace scribal error operating upon a well-authenticated word, his place in tradition remains to be determined. With nothing except *Geraint* before us, we should immediately acknowledge a tradition that gave Arthur for a physician one *Morgetiud* > *Morgan Tut* (*Tud*). There is nothing against this view in the fact that the physician's name appears only in the *Geraint*, for it may have had a place on scores of pages lost to us. But the question

¹ See Rhys and Evans, *The Text of the Mabinogion*, Oxford, 1887, p. 261, *Morgan Tut*; pp. 286, 287, *Morgant Tut*.

² Cf. the facsimile manuscript of *Geraint*, published by Rhys and Evans, facing p. 231.

³ See J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XIII (1892), 497:—"L'écrivain gallois du XIV^e siècle transcrivait un texte plus ancien."

⁴ *Germ. Abhandl.*, IX, v. 248.

⁵ *Die Crône*, v. 2329.

⁶ See p. 267. Cf. the confusion between *Morcant* and *Morgan*, for which see the references to Nennius, etc., above, p. 142, note 6; Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 229, note 1.

that we must attempt to answer is whether this physician who healed Geraint is quite independent of any connection with the fay whose balm was potent in Erec's case. Four facts are unavoidably suggestive of an association in tradition between the names *Morgetiud* and *Morgain*. (1) Ewaine is the son of Morgain; Owein is the son of Margetiut. (2) Morgain is the inhabitant of an Isle of Women; Margedud is the son of the founder of the Chastel des Pucières (Edinburgh). (3) Morgain is the healer of Arthur's wounds in Avalon; Morgan Tud is Arthur's chief physician. (4) At Arthur's bidding a balm of Morgain's is applied to Erec's wounds; at Arthur's summons Morgan Tud and his disciples give their care to Geraint. The first two of these parallel traditions indicate that a relation is quite as possible between Morgain and Morgetiud as between Morgain and Morgan Tud, a probable scribal error for Morgetiud. Hence it is obvious that the question to be considered really is: What association existed between Morgain and the bearer of the original name, Morgetiud, before it was tampered with by a scribe? Since the first two of the parallels that I have mentioned are based upon statements in the *Annales Cambriae* and Geoffrey, it looks as if some confusion between the two names had taken place at a comparatively early date. But it should be said that in the record in the *Annales Cambriae* that Owein was the son of Margetiut we have two far from uncommon names, and that therefore it is a question how great stress should be laid upon the fact that its words offer a parallel to the tradition that Ewaine was the son of Morgain. Geoffrey is giving a list of the numerous children of Ebraucus; from this list it appears that Anaor, whose name apparently has a place in romantic tradition as that of a fay,¹ was Margadud's sister, a daughter of the founder of the Castle of Maidens. This would seem to indicate that an other-world connection was not remote from the mind of him — whoever he was — who first accomplished the task of naming the twenty sons and thirty daughters of Ebraucus; and accordingly Geoffrey's words, when placed among the parallels dealing with Morgetiud and Morgain, derive some weight as additional evidence that a confusion may have arisen

¹ See pp. 21, note 1; 139.

before his time. These two examples, however, merely suggest a possibility that the names *Morgetiud* and *Morgain* (*Morgue*) were confused by the eleventh century, and do not in any way give proof of such a confusion.

In the third of the parallel traditions noted above, an important and persistent office of Morgain as Arthur's healer in Avalon, which occupies an early place in the Morgain saga as we know it, comes into close contact with the rôle of Morgan Tud. A possible supposition is that Morgain, the fay of Avalon who cared for Arthur's wounds, was rationalized into Arthur's court physician, and given a name in Welsh resembling *Morgain*, that is *Morgetiud*. But apart from the fact that such a rationalization and unsexing are rather violent, there is still another objection to this view. Since *Morgetiud* is an old Welsh name the most natural inference is that the country where such a rationalization would take place would be Wales, and that the time probably would be no later than the first half of the twelfth century. *Morgan* we know was with Bretons and Welsh a not uncommon masculine name,¹ but never, so far as we are aware, a feminine, except when it was applied to the fay in France.² Hence, if such a rationalization as I have

¹ See Lot, *Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 323. This is a fact that led more than once to a misunderstanding of Morgain's (Morgan's) nature. By the masculine form of her name the author of *Aliscans*, as we have seen (p. 51), may have been led astray, and the same mistake is made in the English metrical romance, *Ywaine and Gawin* (ed. Ritson, *Anc. Eng. Metr. Romances*, I, vv. 1755 ff.). In the French source (*Yvain*, v. 2953; cf. above, p. 64) the famous magic balm which was to cure Yvain's madness has been given to its owner by Morgue la sage; in the English source by Morgan the wise:—

He sayd, this unement is so gode
That if a man be brayn-wode,
And he war anes anoynt with yt,
Smertly sold he have his wit.

Cf. *Li Romans dou Chevalier au Lyon*, ed. Holland, Brunswick, 1886, v. 2947, note.

² Rhŷs repeats a tradition of Glasfryn Lake in the parish of Llangybi in Wales, that is to the point here. Morgan is a wicked man who lives in the lake, and is justly the terror of naughty children, for he carries them off to his pool and keeps them there. Rhŷs shows that a confusion probably took place in Wales between the name *Morgen* (sea-born), applied to a mermaid, and the masculine *Morgan*. "No sooner, however, had the confusion taken place between Morgen and the name which is so common in Wales as exclusively a man's name, than the aquatic figure must also become male. That is why the Glasfryn Morgan is now a male, and not a female like the other characters whose rôle he plays." (*Celtic Folklore*,

suggested above took place, it is not clear why Morgain's own name, often spelled *Morgan*, being masculine in form to Welsh ears, should have been abandoned when it was ready to tradition's hand, and *Morgetiud* made to do duty for the occasion.

The situation in general, however, is explainable if in the first place we recognize a story which may have been recorded in an early manuscript of the *Geraint*, namely that Arthur had a court physician, Morgetiud. Between his name and office and those of Morgain (Morgue), the healer of the king's wounds, there was sufficient resemblance for the two personages to become confused, either in the mind of a Welshman who knew Morgetiud and heard of an unfamiliar Morgain (Morgue, Morge) la fée, or in the mind of a Frenchman who knew Morgain and heard of Morgetiud through a Welsh source.

III

Thus far then we have seen that there may have existed in Welsh tradition one Morgetiud, the king's physician; and that his name and part might easily become confused with Morgain's in either Welsh or French sources. Can we account any more definitely for the difference between the *Geraint* and *Erec* in the scene of Edeyrn's (Yder's) reception at court, and in that describing the care administered to the hero's wounds by Arthur's orders? In other words, the question has narrowed itself to the relation between the *Geraint* and the *Erec* in the scenes that concern Morgan Tud and Morgue.

We have learned that the author of the *Geraint*, whatever else he is doing, is certainly not translating his passages concerning Morgan Tud from Chrétien's *Erec*. Is he introducing his story of Morgan Tud because he does not understand his source, or is he simply for his own reasons departing from his original, introducing here a creation of his imagination and naming the hero by a name suggested by *Morgue*, viz., *Morgetiud*? In the scene of Edeyrn's healing, the question is easily answered.

Oxford, 1900, pp. 372-374; cf. *Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, 1892-1893, pp. 16, 17.) Although this is a modern example it illustrates a situation similar to that which it is not unreasonable to suppose existed even before the twelfth century in Wales, where doubtless the name *Morgan* in itself suggested a male being to a Welshman.

In *Erec* we are told that Yder's dwarf has insulted one of Guinevere's maidens. Erec has gone in pursuit of him, has vanquished him in combat, and has sent him to Guinevere as her prisoner. At Guinevere's request, Arthur postpones a certain festival at court until Erec shall return. Yder arrives duly at Caradigan.

"Ses haubers est coverz de sanc;
De roge i a plus que del blanc."

.

"Ses haubers est ansanglantez,
Mout est hurtez et debatuz;
Bien i pert qu'il s'est combatuz.
Savoir poons sanz nule faille,
Que fiere a esté la bataille."¹

But we hear nothing further about his wounds. He is brought before Arthur and Guinevere, greets them, surrenders himself to the queen, and tells her his story, adding that Erec will come to court the next day. The queen at once calls the king's attention to the fact that she gave him excellent advice the day before, when she counselled him to await Erec's presence at the feast.

'Por ce fet il buen consoil prandre.'²

The king admits that she is right:

"Mes se de rien nule m'avez,
Cest chevalier quite clamez
De sa prison par tel covant
Que il soit des or an avant
De ma mesniee et de ma cort;
Et s'il nel fet, a mal li tort."
Li rois ot sa parole dite,
Et la reïne claimme quite
Le chevalier tot maintenant;
Mes ce fu par tel covenant
Qu'a la cort del tot remassist.
Cil gueires prolier ne san fist:
La remenance a otroilee;
Puis fu de cort et de mesniee —
N'an avoit pas devant esté.
Lors furent vaslet apresté,
Qui le corurent desarmer."³

In the *Geraint* under the same circumstances Edeyrn comes to court. "Miserable and broken is the armor that he wears, and the hue of blood is more conspicuous upon it than its own color." Guenhwyvar hears of his arrival, and goes to the gate to meet and admit him. He yields himself to her, tells the tale of his encounter with Geraint, and announces that Geraint will come on the morrow. "Then Arthur came to him and he saluted

¹ Vv. 1151-1160.

² V. 1222.

³ Vv. 1227-1243.

Arthur; and Arthur gazed a long time upon him and was amazed to see him thus. And thinking that he knew him, he inquired of him, 'Art thou Edeyrn, the son of Nudd?' 'I am, Lord,' said he, 'and I have met with much trouble, and received wounds unsupportable.' Then he told Arthur all his adventure. 'Well,' said Arthur, 'from what I hear it behooves Gwenhwyvar to be merciful towards thee.' 'The mercy which thou desirest, Lord,' said she, 'will I grant to him, since it is as insulting to thee that an insult should be offered to me as to thyself.' 'Thus will it be best to do,' said Arthur; 'let this man have medical care until it be known whether he may live. And if he live, he shall do such satisfaction as shall be judged best by the men of the court; and take thou sureties to that effect. And if he die, too much will be the death of such a youth as Edeyrn for an insult to a maiden.' 'This pleases me,' said Gwenhwyvar." Then follows a list of the sureties and the scene with Morgan Tud quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Edeyrn's part in the story ends when he is consigned to Morgan Tud's care.

There are two marked differences in these two accounts, one that of national characteristic, which gives us less courtly ceremony in the *Geraint* than in the *Erec*, and the other the presence of Morgan Tud. If the *Geraint* is based on the *Erec*, the author is following in his version of Edeyrn's arrival at court one of two methods: he may be introducing into his story a bit of ornamental description based upon the incident of Geraint's healing that he intended to use later, and attaching it to Morgetiud, a figure, be it remembered, created in the second instance out of the mention of Morgain's balm, — which is plainly a very complicated and unnatural process; or, what is more probable, he may be following an independent old Welsh story about one Morgetiud, Arthur's physician. If this be true in the case of Edeyrn, why should it not also be true in the healing of Geraint? The existence of such a tradition would explain certain difficulties in the scene where Geraint is healed. The passages cited at the beginning of this chapter show the wide variation here between the *Geraint* and the *Erec* in story. If the author of the *Geraint* is misunderstanding his original, he is misunderstanding it at the very point where we have a right to feel assured that he would have understood it. To a Welsh narrator a fay with her healing balsam was a common figure in story,¹ and it is difficult to believe that by an error he would have discarded the fay and substituted

¹ See p. 45, note 1.

so entirely different a figure and story. The second question is answered by the fact, that it is improbable if the author were fabricating Morgetiud after 1168, the approximate date of *Erec*, he would have given him an ancient form of the name; for apparently by the middle of the twelfth century *Morgetiud* was not in vogue, but had been supplanted by *Maredudd*.

It is surely reasonable to suppose in view of all the above considerations that there figured in old Welsh tradition a personage called Morgetiud, the king's leech, who was able to heal whatever wounded knights came to Arthur's court.¹ As Zimmer shows by example,² the chief physician was a person of distinct importance in Welsh court life as early as the tenth century, and was as prominent as the bard among court officers. Hence in taking the story of *Geraint* at its word, and in accepting a tradition that gave Arthur a great physician *Morgan Tud* < *Morgetiud*, we are only recognizing in the narrative what we know was a prevalent custom.

Supposing this be true, what shall we think of Chrétien's story? If the Welsh version is not derived from the French, is the obverse of the situation plausible, and may we explain Chrétien's introduction of Morgue as the outcome of what he found in a source derived from a Welsh version of the *Geraint* story?

Tradition shows that the healing balm that Morgain gave the king in Avalon is conspicuous in the earliest versions of the Avalon story. Both in the *Vita Merlini*³ and in *Lazamon* the *medicamen* prescribed by the fay has a place.⁴ Hence the *antret* given to the king by Morgain, according to Chrétien, is doubtless that which she gave him originally in Avalon, but which tradition, establishing her at court as the king's sister,

¹ Note the many servitors of Arthur in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, *Mabinogion*, II, 258-269. See also *ib.*, 312, Gwlydyn Saer, Arthur's chief architect; 308, Hygwyd, Arthur's servant, brother to Arthur's servant Cachamwri; his office is to carry Arthur's cauldron, and place the fire beneath it.

² *Erec*, p. xxviii, note; cf. *Mabinogion*, II, 164. The king's physician is an important person in Celtic literature at least as early as the tenth century. For an account of Fingen, King Conochar's remarkable physician, see the tale known as the *Tragical Death of King Conochar*, which should probably be placed earlier than the tenth century, translated in *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 270 (cf. 266), 215 (cf. 190). Cf. also *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889), 273; Stokes and Windisch, IV, i, 241.

³ V. 938.

⁴ *Brut*, vv. 23,071, 23,072; cf. vv. 28,614 ff.

has brought to earth along with the fay herself. Chrétien uses it again in the *Yvain* where he represents Morgain's magic ointment as effecting an immediate cure of Yvain's madness.¹ If then Chrétien had before him a healing scene based upon that which we know in the *Geraint*, in which Morgetiud, the king's physician, displayed his skill, it would be a short step for him, led by the name or misunderstanding it, to fit to the story a traditional part of Morgain. This will appear all the more natural for him, when we recall to mind that any mediaeval maiden was as a matter of course skilled in the use of medicinal herbs; Nicolette displayed no unparalleled art when she cured Aucassin's hurt, and not infrequently in the French romances a knight or lord is said to have in his household a sister conveniently gifted with peculiar skill in surgery, whose services he enlists in behalf of a wounded comrade.² We have seen above the possibility that a confusion in tradition between *Morgetiud* and *Morgain* existed before Chrétien's time. With these confused traditions he might have been acquainted, and by them have been assisted in the rendering that he gave the healing scene of his ultimate Welsh source. Hence, if the responsibility of a misunderstanding or a deliberate alteration of his source is to be laid on Chrétien's shoulders, we see that he had ample excuse for either.

When we turn to the text of the *Erec* we find that such a supposition explains the differences between the *Erec* and the *Geraint* more readily than its opposite explains them. Chrétien is simply omitting from his source the healing of Yder. We

¹ Cf. Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, vv. 5152 ff.; *Yvain*, vv. 2952 ff. This same balm is found in Arthur's possession in Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, Bk. I, Canto ix, 19:—

Prince Arthur gave a boxe of diamond sure,
Embowd with gold and gorgeous ornament,
Wherein were closd few drops of liquor pure,
Of wondrous worth, and vertue excellent,
That any wownd could heale incontinent.

For similar balms cf. above, p. 196, note; Paris, *MSS. franc.*, III, 26.

² See *Perceval*, vv. 13,419 ff.; cf. above, p. 169, note 3; *Erec*, vv. 3190 ff.; *Eger and Grine*, Bishop Percy's *Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnival, London, 1867, I, 354-400, vv. 1195, 1196. The French romances do not of course represent only women as skilled in the healing art; see *Tyolet*, vv. 557-574; Raoul, *Messire Gauvain ou La Vengeance Raguidel*, ed. Hippeau, Paris, 1862, vv. 1846 ff. (cf. *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 55, note 2); *Perceval*, vv. 37,257 ff.; *Prophecies*, p. xxxiv.

wonder why we hear nothing more of the knight's profusely bleeding wounds, but when we look at the *Geraint* and find the description of the care given the wounded Edeyrn, we understand that Chrétien, having put his knight through the necessary adventure and sent him to Arthur's court, at that point preferred to condense his narrative. Geraint stays for a month at Arthur's tent for healing, Erec's cure is of course effected immediately by the fairy balm; hence Chrétien naturally shortens his hero's stay at Arthur's court, and sends him forth more speedily to fresh adventures.

IV

In the course of our investigations we have seen, in the first place, a probability that *Morgan Tud* may be the result of a scribal error for an ancient Welsh name, *Morgetiud*, and furthermore that in Welsh story before the twelfth century a certain Morgetiud may have been represented as Arthur's chief physician; that therefore, granting these probabilities, the author of *Geraint*, so far as his reference to Morgan Tud is concerned, need never have heard of Chrétien. In the next place we have found that the names *Morgetiud* and *Morgain* appear here and there in parallel traditions, *Morgetiud* in Celtic sources and in Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Morgain* in French material. It has also been evident that Morgain's rôle as Arthur's healer would readily coalesce in story with that of Morgetiud, Arthur's chief physician, and her name, especially in the form Morgue (Morge), easily be confused with his; but that since *Morgetiud* is an ancient name, such a confusion between the two personages would probably antedate the twelfth century at latest. Possibly as a result of this misunderstanding Morgetiud is suitably made a denizen of the Castle of Maidens, and Morgain, Ewain's fairy mother, may have become Margetiud, Owein's father. Thence also, as we saw, is possible a confusion in episodes of healing, rendered all the simpler after Morgain was known as the sister of the king, dwelling at court, skilled in surgery. Thence, too, may be derived the misunderstanding or deliberate alteration seen in the *Erec* and the *Geraint*, and the consequent problem as to the interrelation of the two sources, — a difficulty that it

appears satisfactory to explain by assuming that Chrétien's source was based upon an early version of the *Geraint* story, from which he diverged, owing it may be to a confusion, perhaps already existing, between Morgetiud and Morgain (Morgue), or to an association of ideas suggested to him by the similarity in the names of the two personages, their skill in the healing art, and their relations to Arthur.

At all events the grave and mysterious Morgan Tud has no certain information to give us about Morgain la fée. He stands as a notable example of what a stroke of the pen may effect. With his disciples and his simples we may leave him, feeling sure that his name should not serve as an unquestionable support for the belief that Chrétien relied on a written Anglo-Norman source for his material, or that the author of *Geraint* was threading the mazes through which Zimmer and Foerster would follow him as a translator of Chrétien's *Erec*.¹

¹ For further comments on Morgan Tud, see *Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXIV (1900), 444 ff.; *Mabinogion*, II, 92, note; Villemarqué, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1860, p. 317; Id., *Contes Populaires des anciens Bretons*, Paris, 1842, II, 128; San Marte, *Die Arthursage u. die Märchen des Rothen Buchs von Hergest*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1842, I, 144; Ritson, *Anc. Eng. Metr. Rom.*, III, 239; *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 160, note 2.

EXCURSUS IV

THE DIANA MYTH AND FAIRY TRADITION

CERTAIN features in the Diana myth are, as I have said above, paralleled in mediaeval fairy lore.

1. By the sanctuary of Diana in the grove of Aricia on the shore of Lake Nemi, there grew a certain tree, of which only a runaway slave was permitted to attempt to break off a bough. If he were successful, he had to fight in hand to hand conflict with the priest of the goddess, and if he were victor in the encounter, he was compelled, as *rex nemorensis*, himself to defend the sanctuary against the next comer.¹ The cult of the Arician Diana was a peculiarly wide-spread and persistent Italic cult, and is said to have flourished as late as the second century of our era.² So great was the reputation of the grove and lake that the goddess became known as *dea nemorensis*, and that no unusual popular name for a lake was *speculum Dianae*. Hence during the period of Roman colonization in the provinces the Arician Diana was a widely recognized and powerful divinity. The parallel between the Arician cult and the "custom" of a fay's castle is close. The story of the mysterious bough and the priest who awaits his slayer by the Arician lake, whatever the original significance may have been, would, if it were translated into mediaeval thought, necessarily become the adventure of a knight, who, after performing some special deed of valor for which he was destined, had to fight with the defender of a magic castle and if victorious take his place;³ and the goddess whose shrine the *rex nemorensis* guarded would become the fairy mistress of the castle.

¹ See Ovid, *Fasti*, III, vv. 271, 272; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, London, 1900, I, 6.

² See Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1884-, s. v. *Diana*; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, I, 4; Tertullian, *De Falsa Religione*, I, 17.

³ Cf. Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, XII, vv. 530 ff.; XIV, vv. 731 ff., *Die Crône*, vv. 21, 128 ff. See Lang's note (*Athenaeum*, Dec. 6, 1902, 758) on bough-breaking as a traditional form of challenge.

2. At Nemi Diana was specially worshiped by women in her capacity as *Genitalis* or *Lucina*, and therefore to a certain extent she shares with Juno Lucina and the Parcae the care over a child's birth. In the *Vulgate Merlin*, as the giver of a "destiny" to a child, she plays practically the same rôle as the earlier Parcae and the later fays.¹

3. Again, the story of Diana, who, in anger at Oeneus because he had passed her by when he was sacrificing to the other gods, sent the Calydonian boar to ravage his land, offers a distinct parallel to the common story of the fay who, angry at some real or fancied slight, directs a sign of her displeasure against the offender.²

4. Finally, according to one form of the Endymion myth, Luna and not Zeus imposes upon the fair youth his endless sleep in the cave on Mount Latmos. "Luna . . . a qua [Endymion] consopitus putatur ut eum dormientem oscularetur."³ Thus, again and again, we have seen the mortal whom a Celtic fay would win to her control overcome by magic drowsiness.

There is abundant evidence that Diana made her way into northern Europe, and that her cult persisted through the middle ages. In the end of the second century of our era, according to a votive tablet dedicated to *Diana Abnoba*, she was regarded as the divinity of the mountain Abnoba in northern Germany;⁴ and another inscription, which is of more interest here, indicates that she was identified with the tutelary divinity of the Ardennes.⁵ In the second half of the sixth century, Gregory of Tours found at Trèves an established cult of Diana which he endeavored to destroy.⁶ She is mentioned among the heathen deities whom none may dare invoke, in a sermon of Saint Eligius,⁷ who lived during the middle of the seventh century. In the Life of Saint Kilian, a missionary among the Franks in the seventh century, it is related that

¹ See Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, 68: Catullus, *Carm.* xxxiv; Horace, *Carm. Saec.*, v. 15; above, p. 193, note 1.

² See Hyginus, *Fabulae*, ed. Schmidt, Jena, 1872, p. 28.

³ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, I, 92.

⁴ See Orelli, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Collectio*, Turici, 1828-1856, No. 1986.

⁵ See Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, Paris, 1869-1880, II, 319.

⁶ *Hist.*, VIII, 15.

⁷ See Grimm, *D. M.*, III, 402.

Gozbertus, a Frankish leader, inquired of the saint which was preferable — the worship of the God whom he preached, or that of Diana : — “Diana namque apud illum in summa veneratione habebatur.”¹ Whether the Diana mentioned in all these references is the true Roman Diana, or whether simply her name is attached to a northern divinity offering a more or less striking analogy in attributes with her own,² the passages indicate that the popular mind had formed some conception of the prominent characteristics of the goddess. The testimony of Ordericus Vitalis, who lived in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries, is more important here. He relates the experiences of one Taurinus, the son of the Bishop of Paris, at Evreux in the year 1080. Taurinus entered the temple of Diana and called forth a horrible monster, a species of demon, Zabulon by name, greatly feared by the people. An angel opportunely descended from heaven, and led away Zabulon, whereupon Taurinus purified the temple and consecrated it to the Blessed Virgin.³

From her attributes as huntress and moon-goddess, Diana long survived as the leader of the Wild Hunt. From Burchard of Worms⁴ down to Johannes Herolt, a Dominican monk of the fifteenth century,⁵ we have evidence of her obnoxious influence in this capacity.⁶ She was also to be dreaded as the mid-day demon⁷ according to the belief of the Haedui, as it is recorded in a passage from the *Acta Symphoriani* : — “Dianam quoque daemonium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit : quae per compita currens et silvarum secreta perlustrans . . . Triviae sibi cognomen, dum triviis insidiatur, obtinuit.”⁸ It should be noted that the sirens appear in

¹ See *ib.*, I, 237.

² See *ib.*, I, 91 ; Maury, p. 5.

³ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Provost, Paris, 1838–1855, Bk. V, ch. 7.

⁴ See Migne, CXL, Burchard of Worms, *Decretorum Libri X*, 831, cap. i.

⁵ See Grimm, *D. M.*, II, 778.

⁶ See *ib.*, I, 235 ; *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 303, 307 ; Maury, *Croyances et Légendes du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1896, p. 376.

⁷ Cf. Roscher, *Ausf. Lexicon*, s. v. *Meridianus daemon* ; Haberland, *Zs. f. Völkerpsychologie*, XIII (1882), 311.

⁸ Cited by Usener, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1895, p. 147, together with a passage from Theodorus of Sykeon in evidence of the identification of Artemis with the mid-day demon among the Celts of Galicia. Cf. Grimm, *D. M.*, II, 972, for a reference in the life of Caesarius, bishop of Arles, in the first half of the sixth

Greek mythology as mid-day demons,¹ and that in German folk lore the mid-day demon is sometimes a maiden of the springs, who sits by the water combing her golden hair.² Diana's appearance in the *Merlin* (1528) as a divinity of the sea indicates that she was still associated with the water,³ and furthermore we have the statement that her mother was a siren. The Lac de Diane and the Forêt de Diane⁴ furnish us with evidence that her name survived in popular usage.

There are perhaps few better illustrations of the mediaeval development of the Diana myth than that found in the descriptions given by Geoffrey of Monmouth,⁵ Wace,⁶ and Layamon,⁷ of the prophecy of Diana to Brutus at Leogecia. Brutus found there, Geoffrey says, a temple of Diana, where a statue of the goddess gave replies to the petitions of suppliants such as he. Geoffrey's account is practically untinged by mediaevalism. The vision of the Penates that came to Aeneas is evidently his model, and he is not departing far from classical ideas.⁸ Diana here is the Diana that we meet in Horace,

Montium custos nemorumque virgo
Diva triformis.

Wace, however, allows current mediaeval notions to cluster about his source, and he recognizes in Diana *une devineresse, Diables ert*. Around this nucleus Layamon groups a still further developed tradition of Diana, the enchantress, skilled in evil arts.

There is undeniable evidence, then, that Diana remained in mediaeval popular belief endowed with attributes that are in lineal descent from those of her primitive character. Throughout the middle ages she is connected with the streams and

century, to a man who was the victim of an infirmity attributed to the stripes and scourgings of a *daemon quod rustici Dianam appellant*.

¹ Crusius, *Philologus*, I (1891), 107.

² See Haberland, *Zs. f. Völkerpsych.*, XIII, 314, 315, 320; Grimm, *D. M.*, II, 972; III, 342; cf. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen, u. Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg*, Vienna, 1879-1880, I, 283.

³ See above, p. 234; cf. Catullus, *Carm.* xxxiv, 12:—[domina] amniumque sonantium.

⁴ Löseth, § 535.

⁵ *Brut*, vv. 635 ff.

⁶ *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, Bk. I, ch. xi.

⁷ *Brut*, vv. 1137 ff.

⁸ See Heeger, *Ueber die Trojanersage der Britten*, Munich, 1886, pp. 66 ff.

forests. She is associated with the moonlight huntress, the mid-day demon, the fates who guard a child's birth, and the sirens; a story is told of her in which she is depicted as the beguiling yet fickle mistress of mortals whom she lures from their homes. In other words, she survived as a personality about whom stories clustered, and many of her permanent and persistent attributes are paralleled in the fays of northern Europe.¹

In Froissart's romance *Meliador*² nymphs of Diana and fays are distinctly identified.

The young knight Saigremor, on his way through the forest of Archinai, the abode of fays, is led a useless chase by a white stag that darts into his path from a thicket. At length the stag comes to him, and seems to invite him to mount. No sooner has the young knight sprung upon its back, than it bears him away to a lake into which it plunges. [Here a leaf of the manuscript is lacking.] Saigremor sleeps, dreaming of his love. When he wakes he is in the presence of three beautiful ladies, to whom he has to give an account of his presence. They take counsel together concerning him,

Car d'elles fu pris et ravis
Et moult doucement portés ent.

.

Et saciés que ces dames trois
Estoient nimphes et pucelles
A Dyane et ses damoiselles,
Qui ravirent le chevalier.³

Here the story ends, but with the picture of the stag-messenger before us, the apparently magic sleep, the beautiful ladies who have brought the fair knight to their land, we do not need the assurance given us a few hundred verses later that Saigremor was taken captive by fays,⁴ and that the nymphs of Diana are maidens of the Celtic other world.

¹ Cf. Fitzgerald, *Rev. Celt.*, IV (1879-1880), 188, note on the superhuman Celtic damsel Cailleach Bhérach, in whom there appear certain characteristics of Diana. See also Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la H. Bretagne*, I, 158: — La Guenne is a rapacious variety of *lutin* known in Brittany, who appears as a goat; probably, Sébillot says, "ce qu'on appelle ailleurs, par corruption, la Diane."

² Ed. Longnon, Paris, 1895, vv. 28,362-28,831.

³ Vv. 28,819-28,826.

⁴ V. 30,343.

A SURVEY OF SCHOLARSHIP ON THE FAIRY MYTHOLOGY OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE SINCE 1903

By Roger Sherman Loomis

Miss Paton's book, with its enormously rich content of medieval fairy lore gathered from the literature of many countries, was mainly concerned to show that the traditions associated with Morgain la Fée, the Dame du Lac, and Niniane were derived from supernatural women of Irish mythology. She avoided the mistake of Nutt and other proponents of the Celtic hypothesis of Arthurian origins, who relied largely on modern Irish folktales, and she attempted to find analogies for the most part in Irish sagas of the medieval period.

Nitze, with but slight reservations, gave Miss Paton's work an enthusiastic welcome; but Jeanroy, who was no Celtist and had never concerned himself particularly with Arthurian matters, was completely sceptical, and this attitude is still common. It must be admitted, even by those who admire the book for its wealth of material and who favor its general thesis, that its very comprehensiveness made the lines of argument difficult to follow and that certain connections are supported by very flimsy evidence. Nevertheless, Jeanroy's criticisms were not wholly justified and were answered, in part at least, by Zenker.

Morgain la Fée

Jeanroy directed his main attack against the thesis that Morgain la Fée owed her name and a considerable element in her story to the Irish goddess Morrigan. On this matter Miss Paton played into her critic's hands by referring frequently to Morrigan as a war-goddess, and Jeanroy rightly pointed out that Morgain was not conspicuous on the battlefield. Zenker replied that Morrigan had other aspects besides her bellicosity, and that though Morgain, naturally enough, had lost some of Morrigan's martial traits, a vestige of them may be found in Morgain's visiting the field of Arthur's last battle and bearing him away.

Jeanroy objected, moreover, that the Irish name Morrigan, accented on the penult, would hardly become French Morgain, accented on the ultima. He was mistaken regarding Morrigan, which is accented on the antepenult; this, however, does not alter the case, and Zenker was right in citing several names which, when adopted by the French, shifted the accent from the antepenult or penult to the ultima.

Having answered these two objections, Zenker maintained that Morrigan was the prototype of Morgain on the basis of four arguments adduced by Miss Paton. 1. Both were supernatural women with powers of shapeshifting. 2. Both displayed discordant attitudes toward the hero, Morrigan to Cuchulinn, Morgain to Arthur. Similarly, Morgain in the *Roman de Troie*, when her love was rejected by Hector, was consumed with hate for him, thus resembling Morrigan, who, when rebuffed by Cuchulinn, sought to destroy him. 4. The equation of Morrigan with Ana in Irish mythology seems to be reflected in the fact that Morgain, as Arthur's sister, is replaced in the Latin chronicles by Anna. Thus Miss Paton's case, though inconclusive, was stronger than Jeanroy was willing to allow.

Another contention of hers Jeanroy dismissed, and for better reasons. She argued that the original relation of Morgain to Arthur was that of a mistress, and unfortunately offered as proof that Arthur's sojourn with her in Avalon paralleled the visit of Cuchulinn to the isle of Fand, daughter of the Dagda and wife of the sea-god Manannan. Zenker and Cross agreed with Jeanroy that the parallel is far from satisfactory. Nevertheless, Jeanroy's denial of any amorous relationship between Arthur and Morgain is hardly justified. Miss Paton herself quoted from the *Gesta Regum Britanniae* the words: "Sanati membra reservat ipsa sibi; vivuntque simul si credere fas est." She might have made an even stronger case out of material with which she was familiar—the romance of *Ogier le Danois*, which assigns to the paladin of Charlemagne a history obviously patterned after that of Arthur. At Ogier's birth six fays appeared and bestowed gifts on him. Just so, according to Layamon and the second continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*, three fays bestowed gifts on the infant Arthur. At the end of a hundred years, Ogier was wrecked on the isle of Avalon, was restored to youth by Morgain, became her lover, and after a long and blissful existence with her, returned to France to deliver it from

its enemies. This, of course, is essentially the story of Arthur's passing, his sojourn in Avalon, and his expected return to help his people. It is a fair conclusion that the role of Morgain's lover was likewise transferred to Ogier from Arthur. But this concept of an amour between Morgain and Arthur did not prevail, and for several reasons, of which the most obvious is that it would involve him in incest with his sister.

This blood-relationship between the healer and the healed was shown independently by Miss Schoepperle and Cross to be based on an Irish tradition. Both noted how closely the conveying of Arthur by Morgain and other queens, to be healed of his wound in Avalon, and his expected return resembled an episode in the *Cattle-Raid of Fraech*. Grievously wounded by a water-monster, Fraech was carried away by his mother and the women of the river-goddess Boand to a fairy hill, and returned on the morrow quite whole. That the tradition came to the French through the Bretons we know on the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis, who attributed to the *fabulosi Britones* the legend that a "dea phantastica, Morganis fabulatoribus nuncupata", who was Arthur's kinswoman, had taken him to the *insula Avallonia* to cure his wounds.

Miss Paton noted a fact which supports the theory of Breton transmission. Layamon refers to the fairest of all maidens, who was destined to make Arthur all whole, as Argante the Queen, and Argant is recorded as a man's name in the Cartulary of Redon as early as 869, and appears later as an element in Breton compound names. Bruce objected that Layamon alone knows the form Argante, that all other texts which name the fairy queen who tended Arthur in Avalon give easily recognizable variants of Morgain, and that there are instances (as in the manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*) where the initial M has been omitted. Accordingly he maintained that Argante was a scribal corruption of Morgain(t). Perhaps these contradictory views may be reconciled, since both are quite plausible, but it is not easy to see how this can be done.

In this connection, one should not overlook a rival theory as to the origin of the name Morgain, upheld by Rhys and Lot and revived by Marx, namely that it comes from Muirgen, meaning in Irish "born of the sea". This, we are told in the *Death of Eochaid mac Mairda*, was the baptismal name of an aquatic lady who lived for three centuries in Lough Neagh, shaped like

a salmon below the waist, who was finally caught, was converted to Christianity, and after her death was worshiped as a saint. Her real name, however, was Liban and she reappears in the saga of the *Sickbed of Cuchulinn* as the messenger who summoned Cuchulinn to the fairy isle of her sister Fand, the wife of Manannan, the sea-god. The principal argument in favor of Muirgen as the prototype of Morgain is the fact that Geoffrey of Monmouth spells the latter name with an *e*, *Morgen*; but Lot himself noted that this form was used to fit the needs of hexameter verse. Miss Paton, though she was willing to admit Fand as one of the prototypes of Morgain, rightly rejected her mermaid sister because of the lack of any striking similarity between the latter's career and that of the Arthurian fay.

Cross, though he expressed in a footnote to his article on "Celtic Elements in the Lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent*" his scepticism regarding the connection between the names Morgain and Morrigan, nevertheless went on to say that "the personality of Morga(i)n la fée of Arthurian romance is certainly close kin to the Celtic fairy women with whose character the Morrighu has so much in common." And indirectly his excellent article reinforced Miss Paton's argument for the derivation of Morgain from Morrigan. For he drew elaborate parallels between the fairy mistresses of *Lanval* and *Graelent*, on the one hand, and the fays of Irish literature, on the other. In the Breton *lais* and the Irish sagas the beautiful fay is discovered beside a fountain; she displays a receptive attitude toward the enamored hero; she imposes a taboo on him not to speak of her; she bestows on him wealth and a faithful horse; she withdraws her favor when he breaks the taboo.

Cross might have called attention to two very interesting facts which have a bearing on Miss Paton's thesis. *Lanval*'s mistress had her home in Avalon and, though anonymous, was presumably Morgain. Her Irish counterpart, so far as the gift of wealth and a horse, and the imposition of a taboo and its violation are concerned, was Macha, and Macha, as Miss Paton observed (p. 159), was called in a fourteenth-century gloss "the third Morrigan". This can only mean that Morrigan was a title, as well as an individual's name, and was applied to three supernatural beings, one of whom was Macha. It was from Macha, alias Morrigan, that Morgain inherited certain features of

her legend, namely those preserved in the Breton lai of *Lanval*. How important the Irish trio were in the popular imagination may be inferred from the many place-names in which the element Morrigan occurs and the fact that Macha gave her name to Ardmacha, modern Armagh, once the royal seat of Ulster.

Unluckily Miss Paton, though she supplied all the necessary information in her book, failed to realize how neatly Macha fitted into her scheme. As we know, she was one of three Morrigan, and Morgain la Fée appeared as one of a trio of fays to Lancelot, to Floriant, and to the burghers of Arras. The gloss already mentioned equates Macha with Badb, a scaldcrow, and Morrigan is described several times as turning into a crow. Morgain, likewise, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth and Hartmann von Aue, could fly through the air, and in the *Didot Perceval* we find a flock of black, bellicose birds, one of whom, wounded, reverted to the form of a beautiful woman and, very significantly, was wafted off by the other birds to Avalon, the home of Morgain. It was Macha who gave to Cuchulinn his famous steed, Liath Macha, and it was Morgain la Fée who according to the *Roman de Troie* gave Hector the best of horses. Thus we see that Irish traditions about Macha round out the evidence for the descent of Morgain from Morrigan.

Another Irish fay, Fand, the daughter of the great god Dagda and wife of the sea-god Mananan, influenced the legend of Morgain. Not only did Fand dwell on a paradisal island like Avalon, but she sent her sister Liban to bring Cuchulinn to her to fight on her behalf against her enemies. She rewarded him with her love, but he incurred her displeasure and wandered like a madman on the mountains, sleeping every night in the open. Zenker in his *Ivainstudien*, following A. C. L. Brown, showed that this saga, *The Sickbed of Cuchulinn*, provided the outline of Laudine's story in Chrétien's *Ivain* and of Malory's Book of Gareth, and Miss Newstead was able to show in her article, "The Besieged Ladies in Arthurian Romance", that the heroines of these two stories, who correspond to the goddess Fand, concealed under the names Laudine and Lyones their identity with Morgain. In fact, Lyones was lady of a castle beside the isle of Avilion, and dwelt there with her brother Gringamore—a fact which cannot be disassociated from Chrétien's statement in *Erec* that Morgain was the mistress of Guigamor, lord of Avalon. Miss Newstead was able to prove, furthermore,

that other besieged ladies, the Queen of Maydenlande in the English *Sir Perceval* and the mistress of the Castellum Puel-larum in *De Ortu Walwanii*, were ultimately derived from Fand.

Miss Paton was right, therefore, in contending that Morgain la Fée inherited her name and some of her attributes and activities from Morrigan, but her legend was a composite one and incorporated also Irish traditions of Macha, the kinswomen of Fraech, and Fand. In view of the supernatural character of all these women, it is no wonder that four medieval authors refer to Morgain respectively as *dea*, *déesse*, *gotinne*, and *goddes*.

If Miss Paton had realized more fully the multiple Celtic sources of Morgain's legend, she might not have missed an important clue which shows that the fairy queen had antecedents not only in Irish but also in Welsh mythology. As far back as 1802 Ritson pointed out in *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, III, 227, that while in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* the wife of Urien is Morgan le fay, in Welsh tradition she is Modron, daughter of Avallach; and Lady Guest in her notes to the *Mabinogion* (1838-49) observed that Morgan had replaced Modron as the mother of Owain (Ivain). The basis for these assertions is an authentic triad translated by Loth in his *Mabinogion*, 2nd ed., II, 284, which states explicitly that Modron daughter of Aval-lach bore in her womb Owain son of Urien. There could be no stronger proof that Morgain's family relationships were patterned after those of Modron, especially since we have Latin texts which offer the explanation of the isle of Avalon as named after a certain Avalloc, who dwelt there with his daughters.

Does this link with Modron account for other features in the legend of Morgain? All students of the matter agree that Modron's name is a regular phonological development from Old Celtic Matrona, the name of a goddess who was worshiped from Cisalpine Gaul to the Rhine Valley, and was always represented in sculpture in groups of three. This trio of Matronae, when they were brought into contact in Wales with the three Morrigan, would tend to coalesce, and would reinforce the tradition of a trinity of fays, of which Miss Paton collected many examples from medieval literature. Similarly the fact that Matrona was a river goddess who gave her name to the Marne would lead to the identification of her Welsh counterpart with Morrigan, who gave her name to a ford and on several occa-

sions was met at a river crossing. It is not surprising that in the late Welsh account of Urien's meeting with his fairy mistress and begetting on her Owain, the scene is laid at a ford in Denbighshire. It is probably this very tale which is reflected in the *Didot Perceval*, where we read that a fay lured Urbain (Urien?) to a splendid castle beside a ford, and that he dwelt with her there for nearly a year. Nothing is said of her bearing Urbain a son, but when he was engaged in combat with Perceval at the ford, she and her maidens came to his aid in the form of black birds. Apparently, Modron, like Morrigan and Morgain, could take the form of a crow.

Morgain, it is clear, had a double ancestry, on the one hand descending from the goddesses of Ireland, and on the other from the great British deity Matrona. But this presents a problem of nomenclature. The name Morrigan could hardly have passed directly from the Irish to the Bretons and thence into French literature as Morgain without passing through Wales; and yet the Welsh prototype of Morgain was Modron, and Modron cannot be an intermediate form between Morrigan and Morgain. Luckily Rhys reported in his *Celtic Folklore* that naughty boys were warned that they would be carried off by a water-sprite named Morgan into the lake of Glasfryn in southwestern Caernarvonshire, and he believed that the sex of the sprite could be inferred from the coat-of-arms of the owners of Glasfryn, which depicts a mermaid. Moreover, as a child Rhys heard in north Cardiganshire references to the name Morgan which hinted at uncanny associations. Morgan has been, of course, a common man's name in Wales from the earliest times, and the most plausible explanation of its attachment to a malign and presumably female water-sprite is that it was substituted for Irish Morrigan (accented on the antepenult) on the west coast of Wales, where Irish influence on tradition was strong.

If this be so, then the problem of nomenclature can be solved by the following hypothesis. During the Dark Ages, when Irish legends flooded into Wales, particularly along the west coast, the stories of Morrigan merged to a considerable extent with the tales of Modron. As a result, the same stories which were told of Modron were also told of a water fay who went by the familiar man's name of Morgan. This Morgan survived in the folklore of western Caernarvonshire and Cardiganshire well

into the nineteenth century. But, long before, this compound figure of Morrigan and Modron had passed with the Arthurian legend and with her father Avallach, her husband Urien, and her sons Mabon and Owain into Brittany. The name Modron left some slight imprints in Arthurian nomenclature, for it seems the probable original of Moronoe, who is Morgen's sister in the *Vita Merlini*, and of Marrion, Morgain's sister in the *Bataille Loquifer*. But it was the Welsh name Morgan, substituted for Morrigan, which was generally accepted by the Bretons, since it was common as a man's name in Brittany as well as in Wales, and the Welsh water-sprite, who carried off naughty boys into a lake, is easily recognized in the mermaids named Morgan, Marie Morgan, or Morganes, who according to the popular legends of the Breton sea-coast and islands used to draw fishermen down under the ocean waves.

One version tells how a soldier surprised a Marie Morgan sitting on a rock near Vannes, and when he approached her, she clasped him in her arms and drew him down into a pool. It is highly significant that the hero of the Provençal romance of *Jaufré* relates how the hero, bending over a spring, was pushed in by a lady and, clasped in her arms, was drawn down to the bottom, and there found himself in the most beautiful of lands. Later, the lady revealed that she was the Fay of Gibel, in other words, Morgain la Fée, who by the thirteenth century was well established in Arthurian tradition as the mistress of a palace on or in Mongibel, i.e. Mount Etna. Evidently, the Breton *conteurs* had recognized a resemblance between the elysian isle of Avalon and the semi-tropical isle of Sicily, and had transferred Morgain from one to the other.

Miss Paton pointed out in a footnote a very striking parallel between Morgain la Fée and a Margot la Fée of modern Breton folklore. An Italian *cantare* of the fourteenth century relates how Gawain delivered the daughter of Morgain from serpent shape and he became her lover, but he lost her when he violated the taboo of silence, just as Lanval lost the fay of Avalon. Her mother placed her in a dungeon full of water, and she was changed, presumably from the waist down, into a fish. Again, after some years, Gawain delivered her. In the Breton folktale we find a similar story. Margot la Fée had a daughter, who once a year was turned into a snake. By Margot's instructions a peasant found the snake, covered it with a basin, and when

he lifted it in the evening, there was the most beautiful maiden in the world. Considering the affinity between this *cantare* and the Breton *lais*, one should take seriously a connection between the *cantare* and the Breton folktale.

An important Breton contribution to the legend of Morgain is her appearance among the fays who attend on a medieval hero's birth and confer gifts upon him. The hero may be Ogier or Garin de Monglane. The three fays mentioned by Layamon and the second continuator of Chrétien's *Perceval* as present at Arthur's birth are anonymous, but it is safe to say that in earlier tradition Morgain would certainly have been counted among them. Now this concept, of course, goes back to classical antiquity and survives in the nursery tale of the Sleeping Beauty. There is abundant evidence that in Gaul it was attached to the *Parcae* and *Fatae*, and was still a living faith in western Europe in the fourteenth century, though vigorously combated by the clergy. There seems to be no trace of this superstition in Ireland and Wales, but in Brittany it was the custom to serve a repast for the fays in a room adjoining that of a woman in labor in order to propitiate them, and the folklorist Sébillot was told in 1880 that the Margots gave names to children, especially those of great families, bestowed gifts on them, and predicted what they would become. Miss Paton noted that in *Brun de la Montaigne* the father of the hero exposed his newborn son in the forest of Bersillant (Broceliande) that he might receive a destiny from the fays, and we must therefore add the motif of the visit of the fatal sisters to the cradle of a hero to the other contributions which Brittany made to medieval romance.

Even the most cursory study of the appearances of Morgain in literature would reveal a *mélange* of heterogeneous and inconsistent materials, and the development of scholarship in the fifty-six years since the publication of Miss Paton's book has made it abundantly clear that this variety and these contrarities are the inevitable consequence of Morgain's multiple origin in the mythologies of the Celtic peoples, Irish, Welsh, and Breton.

Now the many and sometimes glaring inconsistencies in the Morgain tradition must have proved embarrassing to the *conteurs* and men of letters who exploited it, and they resorted to various means to eliminate them. One device was to conceal the identity of the fay by suppressing her name. Thus, as we have seen, Lanval's fairy mistress from Avalon, Urbain's fairy

mistress who came to his aid in the form of a black bird, the Queen of Maydenlande, and the mistress of the Castellum Puellarum are all anonymous hypostases of Morgain. They play one or more of her characteristic parts and give away by some telltale feature the secret of their origin.

The mistress of the Castellum Puellarum, one of the category of Besieged Maidens, though at first sight there seems to be little to connect her with Morgain, betrays by her title that she belongs to an extraordinary development of the Morgain legend which took place in southern Scotland in the first half of the twelfth century. In the reign of David I, King of Scots (1124-1153), there was a powerful influx of Anglo-Norman culture, and a Breton, Walter, who had earned the king's gratitude by his services in 1141, was rewarded by the title of steward of his household and the grant of lands in Renfrewshire. In 1142 King David began using in his charters, as an alternative to Edinburgh, *Castrum* or *Castellum Puellarum*, and this was for centuries an official title of the town. The author of *De Ortu Walwanii* was aware of this, for he located the Castle of Maidens in the North. Who was its mistress? Chrétien, though he is confused as to the location of the castle, describes it as the dwelling of five hundred dames and damsels, and his continuator names Queen Morcades as one of them. Now Morcades, according to various accounts, was the wife of Lot, King of Lothian and Orkney; and Edinburgh, of course, lies in Lothian. Her story before her marriage, as told in the *Enfances Gauvain*, bears a marked resemblance to that related of the mistress of the "chastel as puceles", which is clearly identified with Daneborc (Edinburgh) in the Breton lai of *Doon*. In the French *Mort Artu* Morgain herself is represented as dwelling with her damsels in a castle less than two days' journey from Taneborc (Edinburgh). In the *Livre d'Artus* the mistress of the "Chastiaus as Puceles" is an enchantress, the Queen of Danemarche; here, obviously, Danemarche (Denmark) has replaced Daneborc (Edinburgh), and Miss Paton recognized that the Queen of Denmark's magic garden was patterned after Morgain's Val sans Retor. Malory's Dame Lyones, identified above with Morgain, was really the Lady of Lyones, and Lyones represents Loenois, i.e. Lothian. It is not surprising to discover that the romance of *Fergus*, written by one who knew the Scottish Lowlands well, gives a history of the Dame de Lodien which

parallels in several respects that of Dame Lyones, particularly in the tournament and wedding which conclude the poem. Though not all these tales which link Morgain in one way or another with Edinburgh and Lothian are consistent with each other—how could they be?—only a flourishing oral tradition, developed by *conteurs* thoroughly familiar with the multifarious tales about Morgain and consistently associating her with the district and its great fortress, the Castellum Puellarum, can account for this remarkably dovetailed testimony. It is no unreasonable conjecture that King David himself and his steward, Walter the Breton, were among the first to listen to these ancient tales of wonder, transplanted from Brittany to Lothian.

By 1150, at least, the oral tradition was taking literary form and was being written down in manuscripts which, unluckily, have not survived. Such were in all probability the sources of Chrétien de Troyes's four traditional romances—*Erec*, *Lancelot*, *Ivain*, and *Perceval*. In *Ivain* Morgain is disguised under the name Laudine, from Lodien (Lothian), and in the cognate Welsh romance under the title, the Lady of the Fountain. She is easily recognized in *Erec* as Morgue, the sister of Arthur, whose plaster was miraculously efficacious in the curing of wounds. Now it is very odd that the Welsh author of *Geraint*, evidently drawing on the same French source as Chrétien, twice introduces as the healer of the hero's wounds Arthur's chief physician, Morgan Tud. This substitution has provoked many ingenious guesses by eminent Celtists as to whence the word Tud came and what it meant. Miss Paton gives a full account of their views, and seems inclined to believe that Morgan Tud is a substitution, not for Morgain la Fée, but for a Welsh man's name, Morgetiud, which she supposed was to be found in the archetypal Welsh manuscript of *Geraint*. There are two strong objections to this hypothesis. Nowhere in Welsh literature is there a trace of a physician named Morgetiud. On the other hand, Chrétien's account of Morgue's therapeutic powers represents, as we know, an authentic tradition, and it was Morgain, therefore, not an imaginary Morgetiud, who stood in the common source of *Erec* and *Geraint* as the agent of Erec's cure.

A more satisfactory explanation may be offered, partly based on the hypothesis of Loth quoted by Miss Paton on p. 263. The conversion of Morgain into a male physician is easily accounted for, since Morgan was a man's name in Welsh, and

except on the west coast Morgain la Fée was unknown, her role being filled by Modron. As for Tud or Tut (both forms are found in the White Book text), which the Welsh author failed to understand, it may well be the Breton word *tuth*, which occurs in the eleventh-century life of St. Maudez, cited by Loth: "contigit quadam die, absente magistro suo, quod quidam daemōn quem Britones *Tuthe* appellant coram eis apparuit." This troublesome spirit was male, of course, and at first sight it may seem difficult to subsume a mischievous demon under the same term *tuth* as a benevolent fairy such as Morgue, the healer. But to the medieval mind the equation was not impossible but, rather, normal. MacCulloch collected in chaps. II and III of his *Medieval Faith and Fable* numerous instances of fairy mistresses and wives who turn out to be devils. He quoted the specific witness of Alfonsus de Spina (1458) that the *fata* (fays) are not female beings, but demons. In short, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Breton equivalent of Morgain la Fée was "Morgan Tuth". If this be so, it is easy to see what happened. The authors of *Erec* and *Geraint* found in their French source the untranslated form Morgan Tud or Tut. Chrétien, familiar with the Breton tradition of Morgain, Arthur's sister, as a healer, made no change in her sex but could make nothing of Tud and so omitted it. The author of *Geraint*, on the other hand, ignorant of the tradition, assumed that Morgan was Arthur's court physician and that the unintelligible Tud was a part of his name.

To sum up, Miss Paton's derivation of Morgain from the Irish goddess Morrigan has found ample support in later investigations, but it was left to others, making use of her rich assemblage of materials, to carry much farther the research into the study of Morgain's complex origins in the supernatural women of Irish, Welsh, and Breton mythology.

La Dame du Lac

Less successful than her treatment of Morgain was her consideration of the Dame du Lac, the fairy foster-mother of Lancelot. The chapter is cluttered with much irrelevant material, which obscures the fact that in the main the Dame du Lac is no other than Morgain in one of her disguises. But the evidence for this equation may be found scattered here and there in the

chapter. Miss Paton remarked that the *enfances* of Lancelot followed step by step the story of Floriant, where the part of the Dame du Lac is taken by Morgain, but she attached no significance to this correspondence. She overlooked the significance of the close parallel between the role of the Dame du Lac in the Prose *Lancelot* and that of Lanzelet's foster-mother in the Swiss *Lanzelet*, who was queen of an isle of maidens very similar to Morgain's isle of Avalon. It has been pointed out in recent years, moreover, that this Queen of Meidelant had a son named Mabuz, whereas Modron, one of the prototypes of Morgain, had a son Mabon, whose name might easily have been converted into Mabuz in the Anglo-Norman source of *Lanzelet*. Miss Paton did note that the Dame du Lac resembled Macha inasmuch as both had their dwelling in a lake; but, having overlooked Macha's connection with Morgain, she missed the significance of this fact. She missed also the resemblance between Macha, the Queen of Meidelant, and the Dame du Lac in that all three presented their young protégés with a very spirited horse. When we put together all these relationships between the Dame du Lac on the one hand and Morgain, Macha, and Modron on the other, we can hardly escape the conclusion that the Dame du Lac was descended from the same Celtic fays as Morgain, and was indeed Morgain, playing the unusual parts of a lacustrine fay and a foster-mother.

What seems to have put Miss Paton off the track was the separation of Morgain and the Dame du Lac by the romancers into two distinct characters, violently hostile to each other and completely divergent in their relationship to Lancelot and Arthur. But this separation was the natural result of a cleavage between the two concepts of Morgain as a benevolent fay and as a malevolent enchantress—a duality for which there is ample evidence and which she seems to have inherited from Morrigan. The author of the Prose *Lancelot*, having been convinced by certain of Morgain's traditional activities that she was a thoroughly bad lot, was forced to distinguish her from the Dame du Lac, who represented the other side of Morgain's nature. He even identified the Dame du Lac with Niniane, the fay who beguiled Merlin and sealed him in a cave, and whose mythical ancestry, as will be shown presently, was quite different from Morgain's.

There are, indeed, some elements in the history of the Dame

du Lac which were not taken over from Morgain la Fée or from her Celtic prototypes. Miss Paton was probably right in detecting a remote resemblance between the tutelage which the Dame du Lac gave to Lancelot in the ideals of chivalry and the training of Cuchulinn by the woman warrior Scathach as related in the saga, the *Wooing of Emer*. The likeness is at first glance far from clear and the differences are obvious, but we can discern in other texts what seem to be intermediate stages between the two narratives. Closely related to the training of Cuchulinn in deeds of arms by Scathach is the training of the Welsh hero Peredur by nine warlike sorceresses, who on his departure gave him the choice of a horse and arms. This Welsh narrative is related in turn to the education of Lanzelet in courtly accomplishments by the Queen of Meidelant and her maidens, and to his departure with the gift of a horse and arms. And there can be no doubt that Lanzelet's education by the Queen of Meidelant is a less sophisticated version of Lancelot's education by the Dame du Lac, and of his departure, provided by her with arms and a horse that was fleet and strong. Thus, it would seem, by a series of steps the training of Cuchulinn by Scathach developed into the instruction of Lancelot in knightly duties by the Dame du Lac.

If the demonstration of Lancelot's ultimate descent from the Irish god Lug Lonnbemnech is accepted, then we can account for the role of the Dame du Lac as a foster-mother—a role which none of the Celtic prototypes thus far suggested (Macha, Modron, Scathach) is known to have fulfilled. Lug was in his childhood the foster-son of the Queen Tailtiu, a minor figure in the pseudo-history of Ireland but apparently held in high repute, since an annual fair was held in her honor. Even the kidnaping of the infant Lancelot by the Dame du Lac may have had Celtic antecedents, though the evidence is modern. About 1870 or 1880 children living in the neighborhood of Llyn Dwythwch on the flank of Snowdon were warned by their mother not to go far from the house when there was a thick mist lest they should be carried away by the fairies to their abode beneath the lake. It is hardly a coincidence that when the Queen of Meidelant, the foster-mother counterpart of the Dame du Lac, stole the infant Lanzelet, she came with a mist.

Miss Paton's analysis of the composite nature of the Dame du Lac is unsatisfactory, but she did recognize in Macha and

Scathach two of her prototypes and rightly concluded that she was a true Celtic fay.

Niniane or Viviane

Readers of Tennyson and Matthew Arnold are familiar with Vivien or Vivian, a beguiling damsel who in the forest of Broceliande placed a spell on the wizard Merlin, and left him there a prisoner. In the French romances and the translations thereof her name is spelled in many ways, sometimes a *u* replacing the initial *v*, most often an *n*. Miss Paton adopted Niniane as a standard form and devoted two chapters to her, one concerned particularly with the story of her beguilement of Merlin. She distinguished three principal versions of this story. According to the first, Merlin in the form of a young squire meets Niniane beside a fountain, and, infatuated by her beauty, he boasts of his magic powers, including that of building a castle in the air. He solicits her love, but she puts him to sleep by laying an enchanted pillow between his arms. She wishes, however, to keep him with her always, and one day, as they sit under a white-thorn in the forest of Broceliande, she employs the secret charm which he had taught her, and he wakes to find himself enclosed in a tower, walled with air. There she dwells with him. The second version, found in the Prose *Lancelot*, tells briefly how Merlin fell in love with a beautiful damsel who dwelt on the borders of Brittany, named Niniane. She refused to lie with him till he had taught her a magic formula to imprison a man, and another which would cause him to sleep without waking. This Merlin did, but she protected herself against him by inscribing on her flesh two magic words. At last she sealed him asleep in a cave in the forest of Darnantes, and he was never seen again. The third and very elaborate form in the *Huth Merlin* makes Niniane a guest at Arthur's court, where Merlin falls in love with her. She hates him but allows him to build for her an invisible castle beside the Lac de Dyane and abides with him there, learning from him all his magic arts. Her loathing increases, she resolves on his death, and when he has shown her a marble tomb, she casts him into a deep slumber, and seals him in the tomb. Four days later Baudemagus hears him lamenting that he has been given over to death by a woman's craft, but his voice is never heard again.

Miss Paton's claim that the central motif of these stories and much of the subsidiary detail were of Celtic origin was rejected by Jeanroy, who saw here merely the *fabliau* tradition of a sage mastered and humiliated by a woman—a tradition ultimately traceable to the Orient. Brugger and Bruce made the same criticism, and the former proposed that the legend of Hippocrates and his wife was the direct source of the first version. Though this specific connection may well be doubted, and though the humiliation of Merlin takes a form utterly different from that of other doting wise men in the *fabliaux*, there is every likelihood that the well-known theme was present in the minds of the romancers who attached it to Merlin. In fact, the influence of the Virgil legend may be detected in the first version, since Alexander Neckam (ca. 1200) ascribed to Virgil the building of a bridge in the air and the enclosure of a garden by a wall of air.

But, even if we grant the influence of the *fabliaux* on the beguiling of Merlin, the differences between the two narrative types are very great, and Miss Paton's thesis that the latter was essentially and originally a Celtic story need not be discarded; it is, in fact, supported by Nitze. There are the local associations with Brittany and Broceliande; there is the typically Celtic meeting with a lovely fay beside a spring. The first version, which represents Niniane, in spite of her coyness, as reciprocating the enchanter's love and placing him in a magnificent tower so that she may keep him for her pleasure, is plainly a variant of an Arthurian stereotype, of which Miss Paton adduces several examples. In *Erec* Mabonagrain is confined by his fairy mistress in a garden walled with air. The Noir Chevalier in the second continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval* is imprisoned in a tomb by an infatuated fay, who dwells in an invisible castle near by. Morgain holds the knights of Arthur captive in the Val sans Retor, which is walled with air, and so does her *alter ego*, the Queen of Danemarche. We may accept, then, Miss Paton's contention that the imprisonment of Merlin began as the adaptation of a standard Arthurian fairy mistress story, whose Celtic roots can hardly be doubted.

Briefly mentioned in a footnote is the very puzzling matter of the *Esplumeor Merlin*. According to the Didot *Perceval*, the mage did not end his days as the captive of Niniane, but retired voluntarily to an *abitacle* (dwelling) which he had made, and

was never seen again. This was to be called his *esplumeor*. The etymology and meaning of the word are now satisfactorily explained; at first a "mew" or "cage" for birds, it came, like the word *mue*, to have the wider sense of "place of confinement", and this, though the author of the Didot *Perceval* may not have known it, is what it properly signified. Confusion arises when one reads in *Meraugis de Portlesgueiz* that the hero, in search of Gawain, came to a high crag, where twelve prophetesses were sitting, and learned from one of them that this lofty seat was the "esplumeor Merlin". But she seems to have been jesting, for there is no indication that it was Merlin's prison. Rather, it is to be compared with a majestic crag in Glamorgan called Ystol-y-Widdones, the "Seat of the Sorceress", where, when war was about to break out, a prophetess planted herself and wove the woof of human destiny. The twelve prophetic damsels of *Meraugis* were presumably fays of Welsh origin, but they bear no resemblance to Niniane.

There is one feature in the first version of the beguiling of Merlin which links Niniane to certain other Arthurian traditions and perhaps to a Welsh fay, namely the magic pillow which exerted a soporific charm on the wizard and enabled Niniane to thwart his lustful intentions. Miss Newstead pointed out that just such a pillow was employed for just such a purpose by Gymele, Isolt's attendant, in Eilhart von Oberg's *Tristan*. Since the German poem is dated about 1170, its French source must have been written even earlier, and there is no possibility that the pillow was borrowed from the Vulgate *Merlin*. Another example, cited by Miss Newstead from the Prose *Lancelot*, concerns a pillow employed by two damsels to put Agravain to sleep while they spread a poisonous ointment on his limbs. The three instances of a soporific pillow, drawn from unrelated texts, suggest that it was one of the conventional properties of the Matter of Britain.

Nothing precisely equivalent has been found in Irish or Welsh literature, but Miss Newstead has pointed out an analogy between the situation in which Niniane used the pillow and a situation in the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll* where Riannon used a different device for the same purpose. Riannon was bound, by her husband's rash promise, to sleep with a former suitor of hers, but when the time arrived, she persuaded the suitor to step into a magic bag and in it he was trapped and beaten. Miss New-

stead suggests that Niniane's beguiling of Merlin is indebted, at least in part, to the Welsh tradition of Riannon's deception of an unwanted suitor by means of a magic object.

When all the evidence is brought together, the conclusion seems warranted that, although no early Welsh legend of Merlin's imprisonment by a fairy mistress seems to have existed, the legend, as we do have it in the French texts and their derivatives, seems to be a Breton elaboration of the common theme of an enamored fay and her captive lover, an elaboration slightly affected by the popular stories of Aristotle and Virgil.

Niniane appears in the *Huth Merlin* as a virgin huntress, and her role is so different from that which she plays in the beguiling of Merlin that Miss Paton devoted to it a separate chapter entitled "La Damoisele Cacheresse". She is dressed in a short green robe, carries a bow and arrows, a hunting horn is slung from her neck, and she comes galloping into Arthur's hall in pursuit of a white stag. A knight seizes a brachet of hers and rides off. Another knight swings Niniane herself to his saddle and spurs away. Merlin sends Gawain after the stag and hounds, Tor after the brachet, and King Pellinor to the rescue of the damsel herself. Each of these pursuers engages in a series of adventures and, after accomplishing his mission, returns to Arthur's court. Miss Paton quite correctly recognized in this complicated narrative a medley of typical Arthurian themes, and remarked that, oddly enough, in Pellinor's adventure, which concerns Niniane herself, there are no distinctively fairy features. This fact makes it difficult to discover a prototype among the supernatural women of Celtic literature.

Miss Paton rightly rejected the wild derivation of Niniane from Chwibleian, but was herself not too fortunate in seeking to identify the Arthurian fay with Niamh (pronounced Nee-av), the daughter of the King of the Land of Youth, who fell in love with Oisín, son of Finn, and bore him away on her white steed to her island paradise. Except that both Niniane and Niamh are horsewomen and their names begin with the same two letters, there is really nothing to connect the two fays.

The most promising suggestion is that, for a part at least of her story, Niniane is derived from Riannon, for the circumstances under which she appeared in the *Huth Merlin* vividly recall those under which Riannon appeared in *Pwyll*. Both King Arthur and Pwyll, Prince of Dyved, sat surrounded by their

courtiers. Both Niniane and Riannon rode up on swift steeds. Two boys were sent in pursuit of the stag and the hound which had preceded Niniane, and Pwyll sent a youth to pursue Riannon. King Pellinor was sent after Niniane, and Prince Pwyll himself finally rode after Riannon. Both Riannon and Niniane excelled in beauty. Though some sceptics may consider it a mere coincidence, others may be impressed by the fact that a printed edition of the Vulgate *Merlin* states that the name Nymanne was Chaldean and meant "rien nen feraye", that is, "I would make nothing of it". This etymology is preposterous, of course, and the question may well be asked, "Was not the author moved to offer this absurd explanation by the name Rianon in his source?" The form Niniane and its many variations would then be due to successive scribal mistakes and by assimilation to the name of the well known saint Ninian. There seems to be no way to settle the question, but to those who realize how important is the mabinogi of *Pwyll* as reflecting Welsh traditions which reappear in Arthurian romance, especially those in the Combat at the Ford in the *Didot Perceval*, Riannon will seem the likeliest prototype of Niniane. Though the correspondence is partial, she does resemble both the Niniane who preserved her chastity against the desires of Merlin, and the Niniane who galloped into the presence of Arthur and his court, and who was pursued by a king.

One possible objection to this hypothesis is the fact that the equestrian Niniane was emphatically a huntress, and Riannon was not. There is, however, a possible answer. Miss Paton noted a number of passages in the romances which persistently link Niniane with the pagan goddess Diane; she also collected evidence that right through the Middle Ages the learned recognized the Diana of the Roman poets as still appearing to mortals as a queen of the fays. To these passages one might add a quotation from the *Fasciculus Morum* of the early fourteenth century, to the effect that some people "dicunt se videre reginas pulcherimas et alias puellas tripudiantes cum domina Diana choreas ducente, dea paganorum, que in nostro vulgari dicuntur 'elves'". If we may imagine that the romancers responsible for elaborating the story of Niniane equated her, as we have reason to suppose, with Diana, the goddess of the chase, it is not surprising to find her costumed and equipped as Diana was and in full pursuit of a white stag.

In a brief final chapter of her book Miss Paton gives her general conclusions, and the results of more recent scholarship tend to justify them. "The kernel of the traditions connected with Morgain, the Dame du Lac, and Niniane is found in the typical Celtic fairy-mistress story, which antedates at latest the eighth century. . . . The fay is not a wholly simple product, but although primarily the creation of Celtic myth, she has attracted to herself from other sources the traditions of supernatural beings. . . . In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Celtic other world and its inhabitants were continually brought nearer to the courtly life of France. . . . The study of Morgain, the Dame du Lac, and Niniane in turn has made it evident that in the fairy lore of Arthurian romance we are dealing with rationalized myth, which produces a strangely incongruous and incomprehensible whole, unless it is interpreted in the light of Celtic tradition."

But the chief distinction and the chief value of *The Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* lie in the prodigious collection of medieval narratives which Miss Paton summarized or quoted, and the excellent bibliographical apparatus which accompanied them. When one remembers that it appeared as the extension of a doctoral thesis, one wonders not so much at the tentative nature of certain hypotheses which she put forward, as at the range and accuracy of her learning.

The Dragon Maiden, the Hag Transformed, and the Grail Bearer

Miss Paton was not obligated, of course, to treat all the fairy ladies of Arthurian romance, having undertaken a sufficiently arduous task in tracing the history of three who might be classed as fairy mistresses. She disregarded three damsels who repeatedly appear in their respective roles in medieval literature and who share in common the property of taking both repulsive and resplendently beautiful forms. They are: the damsel who was turned from a dragon into a ravishing beauty by the hero's kiss; the ugly crone who was similarly metamorphosed when her husband yielded his sovereignty over her; the stately Grail Bearer, who, according to two romances, appeared later at Arthur's court with more or less abhorrent features.

The first of these, the dragon maiden, had been treated by

Child and Schofield before the publication of Miss Paton's book, and the ugly crone by Maynadier in his *Wife of Bath's Tale*, but, in spite of the excellence of their work, these scholars left room for further investigation. All three of the shape-shifting damsels of the Matter of Britain are studied in Sigmund Eisner's *A Tale of Wonder*, and he has shown clearly that they have a single prototype in an Irish mythological figure, the Sovranty of Erin. To his book the reader is referred for support of the statements which follow.

Several tales of the metamorphosis of the Sovranty of Erin exist, and the earliest version was composed by a poet of Westmeath, who died in 1027, and is entitled *The Adventure of the Sons of Eochaid Mugmedon*. It may be summarized briefly.

Five young sons of Eochaid, King of Ireland, were hunting in the wilderness, and one of them was sent to fetch water from a spring. There he met a monstrous hag. She refused to let him draw water unless he kissed her, and he fled. Two other brothers were sent and returned. Finally Niall approached the stream, and not only kissed but also embraced her as if she had been his spouse. When he looked up, he saw in his arms a damsel whose countenance was blooming like the crimson lichen, whose locks were the color of buttercups, and whose mantle was of a matchless green. She then told Niall to proceed to the plain of Tailtiu (named after Lug's foster-mother), and there his father proclaimed Niall the heir to the kingship. She was the Sovranty of Erin.

Compare this with the story related of Lanzelet about two hundred years later by Ulrich von Zatzikhoven. The hero hears from his wife of a horrible dragon which haunts a wild forest not far from Cardigan in South Wales, and which entreats passing knights to kiss it, but all who have seen it have fled. When Lanzelet, undertaking the adventure, approaches the monster, it cries out: "How long shall I tarry for thee?", and announces that it will become a beautiful creature if the best knight in the world will kiss its mouth. Lanzelet does so, and at once the dragon flies to a stream, bathes in it, and is metamorphosed into the most lovely woman ever seen.

Here, then, is substantially the same pattern of story, modified merely by the substitution of the common medieval belief in women who take the form of serpents or dragons, and by the elimination of coitus as a part of the disenchanting act—for

reasons which one can easily guess. That the Irish poem represents the source of the Lanzelet version, not merely a variant drawn from a common fund of European tales, is amply demonstrated by the other Irish contributions to the romance. In three other Arthurian versions of the transformation of the dragon maiden by a kiss, *Le Bel Inconnu*, *Libeaus Desconus*, and *Carduino*, the forest setting is replaced by a ruinous town, and this change also has tended to delay recognition of their Irish origin, and of the dragon maiden as a substitute for the Sovranty of Erin.

The second development of her story, the Hag Transformed, is best known to modern readers as the Wife of Bath's contribution to the *Canterbury Tales*. Here and in the cognate Arthurian forms, *The Marriage of Sir Gawain* and a late fragmentary ballad, no reptilian substitute has obscured the original identity of the hag with the Sovranty of Erin, and ever since 1892 a considerable body of expert opinion has favored the connection. Nevertheless, it has not won complete acceptance because of two important differences between the English poems and their hypothetical Irish source. The former all introduce a preliminary incident which sends the hero on a quest to discover what women most desire—an extraneous motif which is also employed in *Arthur and Gorlagon* and in *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, and which scholars have traced recently to an Oriental origin. A second difference is that, although the hag, as in the Irish version, demands and receives a kiss, the spell is not finally removed by the kiss but by her husband's yielding to her the sovranty.

These differences, however, do not form an insuperable objection to the derivation of the Hag Transformed from the Sovranty of Erin. The fact that three versions of the story are provided with Arthurian characters militates in favor of Celtic origin, and it is easy to imagine why the two important changes were made. We know that the metamorphosis of the Sovranty of Erin was a condition on which depended the hero's attainment of political sovranty. Once this allegorical meaning was lost, as well it might in passing from a Celtic to a French milieu, a new meaning had to be found, and we may surmise that a clever adapter of the traditional story substituted the perennially fascinating issue of marital sovranty and found ready to his hand the floating motif of the quest for knowledge of what

women most desire, to serve as an introduction. There is, therefore, no serious obstacle to the acceptance of the Sovranty of Erin as the prototype of the hideous hags of Arthurian romance who become radiant beauties as soon as they achieved dominance over their husbands.

It was not till 1933 that the Sovranty of Erin was detected in the Grail romances filling a third role, namely, that of the beautiful bearer of the Grail; but since then several scholars, including Marx, Dillon, and Eisner, have recognized her in this disguise. The connection may be perceived, though rather dimly, when one compares Chrétien de Troyes's account of Perceval's visit to the Grail castle with a tenth-century saga, *The Phantom's Ecstasy*, which relates the visit of King Conn to the palace of the god Lug. Perceval, riding at adventure, was invited by the venerable Fisher King to his castle, and on arrival discovered that his host had mysteriously preceded him. He was served with a sumptuous repast, and with each course a beautiful damsel entered the hall, bearing a golden platter, the Grail. He failed to ask whom one served with this vessel, and in the morning he searched for his host in vain. The Irish saga belongs to a group called *echtraí*, which narrate the visit of a mortal to the mansions of the gods. *The Phantom's Ecstasy* tells how King Conn was invited by a phantom horseman to his abode, and on arrival discovered that his host had preceded him and was seated on a throne. The phantom revealed himself as Lug. A crowned damsel, the Sovranty Erin, acted as hostess, serving Conn with huge portions of meat, and then asked Lug, "For whom shall this cup be poured?", alluding to a golden cup. "Pour it," said Lug, "for Conn." The damsel did so, and then, repeating the question, she was instructed by the prophetic Lug to pour it for each of Conn's royal successors. Lug and his house vanished.

The sequence of incidents in these two stories is strikingly similar, but there are marked differences which have doubtless been responsible for the failure to recognize the parallelism. There is nothing in Chrétien's poem or in any other Grail story to correspond to the prophetic enumeration of the kings of Ireland. But Dillon in *The Cycle of the Kings* distinguished between the *echtrae* proper and the list of kings, and in fact the title given at the end of the text separates the *echtrae* of Conn from the phantom's prophetic frenzy, as if they were

distinct elements. Since the list of kings would have no interest for any peoples but the Irish, it is reasonable to suppose that only the visit to Lug's palace would be transmitted to the Welsh and French; and the replacement of the horseman Lug by the wounded Fisher King may easily be explained by the substitution of the Welsh divinity, the wounded Bran son of Llyr, noted for his hospitality, as the host.

What clinches the connection between the Grail Bearer and the Sovranty of Erin is the evidence of two romances that the former, like the latter, could assume a repulsive form. According to *Perlesvaus* a damsel appeared at Arthur's court, not very fair of visage, and complained of Perceval's failure to ask whom one served with the Grail. As a consequence the Fisher King had fallen into languishment, and her own tresses had fallen off and left her bald. She bore in one hand the head of a king, but later we learn that she had borne with the same hand the Grail. Still later, Gawain visited the Fisher King's castle and saw the Grail Bearer repeatedly pass before him, but curiously enough, nothing is said of her appearance. *Perlesvaus* is related to the Welsh romance of *Peredur*, for the latter also informs us that the Grail Bearer appeared at Arthur's court to complain of the hero's silence at the court of the lame king, and her appearance is far more repulsive than it is in the French romance. The identity of the Grail Bearer and Loathly Damsel is revealed only at the end of *Peredur*, where a youth informs the hero that he had assumed the guise of the black maiden at Arthur's court and of the damsel with the head bleeding on the dish (the Grail). Note the correspondence with *Perlesvaus*, which describes the Loathly Damsel as bearing a man's head and identifies her with the bearer of the Grail.

Now the description of the Grail Bearer in *Peredur*, when she appeared as the black maiden at Arthur's court, is as follows: "Her face and her two hands were blacker than the blackest iron dipped in pitch; . . . one eye was mottled gray and glittering, and the other black as jet; . . . her teeth were long and yellow. . . . Her thighs were broad and bony, and below all was thin, except her feet and knees which were plump." Compare these details with the description of the Sovranty of Erin in her hideous aspect: "Every joint and limb of her, from the top of her head to the earth, was as black as coal. . . . The green branch of an oak in bearing would be severed by the

sickle of green teeth that lay in her head and reached to her ears. Dark, smoky eyes she had. . . . Her ankles were thick, her shoulder blades were broad, her knees were big." This confrontation should suffice to prove that the Grail Bearer inherited certain roles from the Sovranty of Erin: her appearance to the hero in her beauteous aspect in the palace of a hospitable host, her function of serving with a golden vessel, and her transformation into a hideous hag. To be sure, she has inherited other roles from other Irish damsels,—and this might account for her carrying a man's severed head,—but the ancestress to whom she owes most was the Sovranty of Erin.

In all the stories of the transformation of the Sovranty of Erin which we possess she is represented as an allegorical figure the possession of whom forecasts the achievement of the kingship of Ireland. But there is an accumulation of evidence that behind the allegory lay a myth. Recently students of Irish literature have come to see that behind the personification of royal rule lay an earlier concept of Eriu as a divine incarnation of the Emerald Isle. This is why the Sovranty of Erin after her metamorphosis by union with a future king of Ireland wore a mantle of green, why her countenance was like crimson lichen, and her locks like buttercups. Though it was her function to become the spouse of every king of Ireland, it seems that she was originally wedded to Lug, for she appears as a crowned damsel in his palace, taking the part of hostess while he is the host. Moreover, Rhys quoted a passage which referred to the great feast of the Lughnasad as instituted to celebrate Lug's wedding of the kingship, presumably the Sovranty of Erin. Lug, though in Irish pseudo-history euhemerized as one of the early kings of Ireland, is revealed by many converging pieces of evidence to have been in origin a god of the sun, and he has been accepted as such by many connoisseurs of Irish literature.

Once the Lug of mythology is revealed as the personified sun, and the Sovranty of Erin as the goddess Eriu, personifying Ireland, then it becomes obvious why the union of the successors of Lug with the goddess brought about such a glorious transformation. The stories of the Sovranty of Erin are the euhemeristic survivors of a pagan myth which interpreted the miracle of spring as a charm operated by the mating of the sun with the earth.

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